Emerson's Representative Men *Ann Wood*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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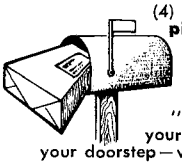

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About the Authors

Martin J. Meyer is president of the National Depositors Cooperative Association. He also serves as Vice President and Secretary of Intercept Tele-Communications, Inc., a new international cable and telegraphic interception and forwarding organization. Mr. Meyer has written numerous magazine articles on banking, thrift, and inflation.

Dr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr., recently elected President of the World Health Organization, was Secretary of the Ford Foundation from 1953 until his retirement in 1967 and Dean of the School of Commerce at Northwestern University. His distinguished career includes government service with the Economic Cooperative Association.

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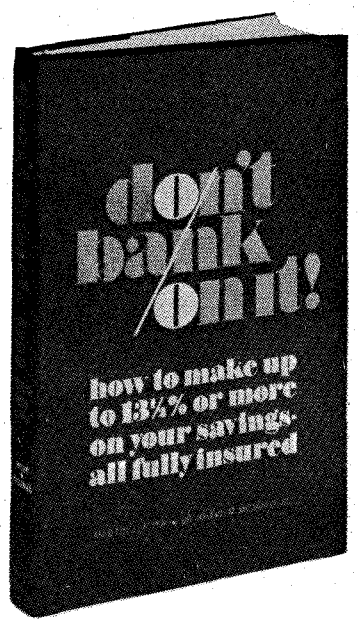

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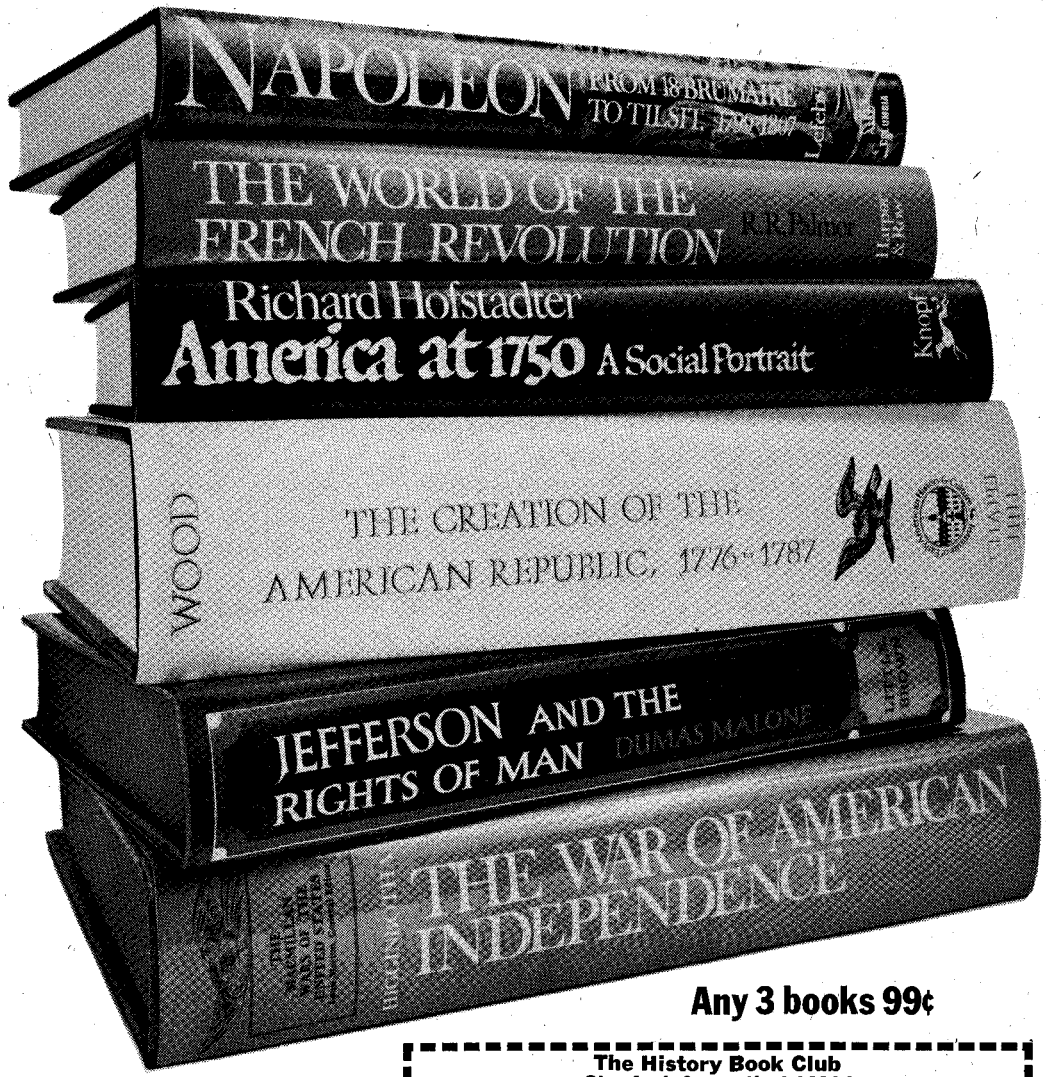

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Nixon Will Lose

We read a good deal in the papers about who will win in 1972; what we don't read is what difference it will make. The race is like a sporting event and there is an undercurrent of disassociation, a feeling almost of despair that it really won't matter much. This lack of confidence in the capacity of government to solve problems is rather terrifying.

Right now the Washington political guess is that Senator Muskie will get the nomination despite tough competition. It is recalled that four years ago we were all writing that Rockefeller had a chance but in retrospect Nixon had it in the bag all the time. That may be Muskie's position today, though it is easy for a front-runner to stub his toe. Can Muskie beat Nixon? Most people here doubt it; the odds would favor the President about 6 to 5, or higher. Our own personal hunch is that, yes, Muskie will get the nomination, and that he will then beat the President. Yes, that's what we said. We warn readers, though, that this is a minority view. Just the same, it's our hunch.

Well, so what? Will an overturn make a radical difference? Consider America's basic problems: the wealth of the richest nation is badly distributed; one of about nine Americans is poor; one of eleven is black. With unparalleled resources the nation also has social instability. Our dangers are not external but within. By a process of residential segregation we are concentrating the poor and black in central cities surrounded with a Berlin zoning wall. We try to ameliorate this by busing to school but if Negroes lived in suburbs they wouldn't need buses – they would be there already. We treat the symptom, not the cause. And the income gap isn't getting smaller. The president of the American Finance Association, Joseph Pechman, last week offered us a more refined analysis of US income distribution: the lowest fifth of American families, he says, get only 3.2 percent of the nation's income, contrasted to 45.8 percent for the upper fifth. The top 5 percent of the families get 19 percent of the pie, and the lucky 1 percent at the apex get 6.8 percent. In other words, the 1 percent at the top receive a slice more than twice as big as all 20 percent at the bottom. That's where crime, and hate and social disorder come from, the deprived lower fifth.

Can a new President change that? We think Muskie (or another Democrat) would try. He is sponsoring a bill with Senator Mondale, for example, to try to make social security taxes more equitable. But a reporter can't watch Washington for any length of time without wondering how any President (Mr. Nixon included) manages to push reform through institutionalized inertia. Our government is booby-trapped with vetoes. The Founding Fathers consciously made it that way. We set out on a voyage of reform but our craft is a barnacled Mayflower rather than a jet plane. Government is skillfully counterbalanced into self-limiting divisions of power.

Look at the recent record. We have tried to reform the Corrupt Practices Act regulating campaign expenditures since 1925. No luck. We are the only big nation in the world without national health insurance. That leering old outrage, the oil depletion allowance, is still around, nodding and simpering at us. Or again, after Martin Luther King and the Kennedys were murdered some hoped we would get an effective federal gun-control law. The gun lobby deflected the threat with a flick of the wrist.

Looking for a Leader

This year's campaign issues won't be presented in just these terms, of course, but the public has an instinct for real values; they are desperately looking, we think, for a leader they can trust. Nixon – ? Well, 1972 is a referendum on the President. Are you for him, or against him? Do you want Mr. Nixon for four more years? That's the normal issue in any second-term American election.

A good deal can be said for Mr. Nixon. Coming to the White House with flexible principles is not a bad idea up to a point. He goes to Peking and Moscow; splendid! – if Humphrey had tried that Mr. Nixon and the GOP would be trying to impeach him by now. It was Richard Nixon who used to demand a rigidly balanced budget; fortunately he has dropped the idea. He opposed government controls – and slapped on the freeze. He denounced centralized government – and is steadily pushing it. He made a career of hunting Reds under beds and now goes to negotiate with them. Not a bad thing to have the wisdom to drop worn-out notions. He accompanies this with a gift of blurring issues, the next best thing for a politician to solving them.

Mr. Nixon is election favorite, with his foreign trips, reduction in US deaths in Vietnam, signs of a better economy, an enormous campaign kitty and control of publicity. These advantages justify the favorable odds but we wonder if they aren't being oversold?

He goes to Peking and Moscow; fine. But will that end the Vietnam war and the armaments race? In Indochina American casualties have gone up one-third since Mr. Nixon took office and he has had to resume bombing with dreadful new concussion bombs. . . . The economy? Getting better, we judge, but unemployment will still be high in November.

On the negative side, we don't rate Mr. Nixon very high as a campaigner, particularly with John Mitchell as his campaign manager. In 1960 he lost. In 1968 he managed to turn an initial Gallup poll advantage of 45 to 29 against Humphrey into a break-even point question mark – no mean feat; his hair-line victory included the first hostile Congress for a new President in the past century.

In the 1970 midterm election Mr. Nixon lost his cool with that disastrous Phoenix speech, which created Muskie. And now in 1972 he is all set to take the high road again and will fall off once more, we suspect, if he is pushed. It takes practice to love Mr. Nixon, and he is not an easy commodity to package. There is a tendency to bolster insecurity with hyperbole – his program to Congress just a year ago was the "most far-reaching ever presented to an American Congress"; the financial agreement last month was "the most significant in the history of the world"; the moonwalk marked "the greatest week in the history of the world since Creation."

It will be hard to top that, even with an election.

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Picking Up The Pieces

Congressional leaders were told at a State Department briefing last December 6 that Mr. Nixon would adhere to "absolute neutrality" in the conflict between India and Pakistan. In a way, he did. The US had already stopped arms shipments to both sides, and although American warships were showing the flag in the Indian Ocean, there was no intention to intervene militarily. Yet, "absolute neutrality" does not quite describe the White House position – or so the Indians believe. "We are deeply hurt by the innuendos and insinuations," Mrs. Gandhi wrote the President on December 15, "that it was we who had precipitated the crisis and have in any way thwarted the emergence of solutions." To understand why the Indians feel that way, some recent history has to be reviewed.

Exactly a year ago, national elections in Pakistan produced a majority of 21 seats in the 300-member National Assembly, the first to be popularly elected, for the Awami league whose leader is Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of East Pakistan. The elections were followed by discussions in Dacca between Sheikh Mujibur and representatives of the central government over the demand of the East Pakistanis for autonomy, by which they meant limiting the federal government's concerns to foreign affairs, defense and some economic questions. Those discussions got nowhere, and in late February Pakistan's prime minister, Yahya Khan dissolved his cabinet and indefinitely postponed the opening of the National Assembly. He subsequently dismissed the civil administration in East Pakistan and put it under martial law – a decision which showed that "the minority had prevailed over the majority," according to Sheikh Mujibur. There were violent demonstrations in East Pakistan. On March 22, the opening of the National Assembly was again postponed by Yahya. Three days later Sheikh Mujibur was arrested, tried for treason (as of this writing he is under house arrest) and troops were sent a thousand miles to East Pakistan to crush what then was a nonviolent movement. "I have ordered the armed forces to do their job and fully restore their authority of the government," Yahya said. What the West Pakistanis were doing, Mrs. Gandhi replied, was "not merely suppression of a movement, but meeting unarmed people with tanks." She appealed to the Secretary General of the United Nations to help "stop the massacre" on her doorstep. The US had no comment until April 5,

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when Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco informed the Pakistani Ambassador in Washington of his "concern" over reports that US arms were being used by Pakistan to repress Bengali dissidents, in contravention to their original purpose, which was to defend Pakistan against Communist aggression. A week later, the department announced that arms sales to Pakistan were continuing.

By that time, the West Pakistani radio was claiming that "all principal towns" in East Pakistan were "under the effective control of the Pakistan army" and that "remaining strongholds of the anti-state elements are being dealt with suitably." About 200,000 East Pakistanis had fled to India. Over nine million were to cross the border for sanctuary.

Secretary of State Rogers acknowledged on May 5 that the Pakistan government was indeed using US-supplied tanks and jets (it had received more than $1 billion in US arms). Although deliveries were halted in 1965, Washington had continued selling Pakistan about $10 million worth of "spare parts" and ammunition each year. Washington, however, had no jurisdiction in the present situation, Secretary Rogers said. That week, a ship left New York harbor for Karachi with parts for armored personnel carriers. Another had departed April 2, carrying ammunition. A third left on June 28 with a cargo reportedly including 8 planes, parachutes and thousands of spare parts, and on June 29 the State Department noted that four or five additional ships with arms for West Pakistan would leave the US within the next month or two.

Meanwhile, according to the director of the World Bank's South Asia department, Peter Cargill, East Pakistan was in the grip of a reign of terror conducted by 70,000 West Pakistan troops; there were towns with only 10 percent of the population remaining; the economy was paralyzed, guerrilla resistance was active, and there was a prospect of famine because of the breakdown in transportation and distribution systems. The massacre was well underway, and the refugees had become a critical problem for Mrs. Gandhi. She had "no intention of allowing them to settle here; neither have we any intention of asking them to go back merely to be butchered." For his part, Mr. Nixon rejected the idea of cutting off economic aid to Pakistan, for that would "aggravate the refugee problem," he said on August 4. Moreover, he was "not going to engage in public pressure on the government of West Pakistan. That would be totally counterproductive. These are matters that we will discuss only in private channels."

The first report (in *The New York Times*) of military penetration of East Pakistan by Indian troops appeared September 29. In calling upon the two sides to pull back, the administration emphasized then and later not what Pakistan had done but what India should do: "India can and should take steps to defuse the situation with Pakistan." In mid-November, $87.6 million in US development loans to India were suspended and India was branded the "main aggressor." It was "very unfortunate," a White House spokesman said, for India "to be using armed force against a neighbor such as they are in East Pakistan." Mr. Nixon summoned the Pakistani ambassador to tell him of the administration's "sympathetic interest" in "the efforts of the government and the people of Pakistan." That same day, the President taped an NBC broadcast that dripped resentment: " . . . Three messages were sent to President Yahya through personal correspondence and after that he's been very cooperative, very forthcoming. So as a matter of fact it should be pointed out that when Mrs. Gandhi was here I told her I had just received a message from him because he knew I was going to see her – that he was willing to withdraw a certain number of miles from the border, unilaterally, without any promise on her part, if there was any feeling that I could convey to him that there might be any response. I asked her to give me any response and . . . she gave none whatever." This note of betrayal by India was sounded more than once and was conveyed to the UN by Ambassador Bush.

But it was left to Henry Kissinger to explain in detail what our policy had been and why. If the Indians had been more patient, he said off-the-record on December 7, the difficulties could have been resolved peacefully, but the Indians wanted things "so rapidly." The administration was not "anti-Indian, this is totally inaccurate." Although we had differed with the Indians, it was "with great sadness and with great disappointment." Nevertheless, the Indians were guilty of aggression; "the use of force was not justified" (Indian, not Pakistani force). And then the ultimate irony, for the US was at that moment bombing Indochina: "We have an obligation to make clear for the sake of peace that we do not favor recourse to military forces as a member of the United Nations, and as one of the principal countries in the world." A State Department spokesman later added the footnote that, "since the beginning of the crisis, Indian policy in a systematic way has led to a deepening of the crisis. . . . India bears the major responsibility for the broader hostilities that have ensued." That is the administration's record of "absolute neutrality."

The second act of this tragedy is about over. What of the third? It will cost India $700 million for one year to care for the Pakistani refugees now in West Bengal. Many of them do not wish to return, yet India is determined they shall. Since India has received only about $200 million for refugee relief, she has committed herself to a very large expense for which she has no immediate hope of reimbursement. Her foreign aid income is insignificant compared to her debt obligations and the emergency demands on her. Even more desperate is the situation in Bangladesh, which has been devastated by typhoons, floods, revolution, war. Unless the international community comes to her

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aid, India will probably bear the burden of resettlement and reconstruction. Aside from what help she might get from the Eastern bloc countries (and her debt payments to them are now higher than her aid income from them), India must look elsewhere for grants and loans. She expects about $1 billion in this kind of aid this year, but few realize that $600 million of that will go to pay old debts, and India has been meticulous about repayment, never having defaulted. The net aid then is $400 million, or $250 million in financial aid and $150 million in commodities. That $250 million is about the size of the budget of Montgomery County in Maryland.

Loans from the International Development Association are given on much easier terms than those demanded by the World Bank – a 50-year term of payment and only three-quarters of one percent rate of interest. But the US is the key contributor to this fund (approximately 40 percent) and without the US contribution, it is crippled. The IDA authorization bill has been moving very slowly through Congress, and unless appropriations and payment are made within the next month or so, IDA will go bust.

India can also look for help to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, who suspended all operations in Bangladesh last summer because it became impossible to get the goods to the people. Washington has given about $90 million to this fund, and the new, unsigned foreign aid bill allows $250 million more for refugee relief administered by the UN.

The question of debt relief for India is a very touchy one. Other countries have had their debts consolidated into a single national debt, payable over an extended period. But these were emergency cases in which the debtor was simply unable to make payment. India does not have this problem, she will be able to pay her debts; but the burden on her economy over the next several years will be staggering.

The United States cannot make a settlement in South Asia; that is the work of the Indians, the Pakistanis and the people of Bangladesh. But the Kissinger talent for balancing one big power against another, and so keeping the USSR and China slightly off balance, need not be indulged at the expense of US-Indian amity. Washington has indefinitely suspended all military and most economic aid to both India and Pakistan, and no one knows when economic assistance will be resumed, or whether the administration has set any conditions on its resumption. What Mr. Nixon can do immediately is sign the foreign aid bill and send the $250 million on to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and he can put additional pressure on Congress when it reconvenes to vote the $320 million the US has pledged this year to the IDA. Later, the White House will have to come to terms with the new political situation in Bangladesh, and settle its differences with India, thereby opening the way to resuming full-scale economic aid.

Back to Bombing

The massive air attacks last week on North Vietnam – among the largest since the bombing "halt" on Nov. 1, 1968 – were "totally consistent" with the President's war policies according to the White House press secretary. In February 1971, Mr. Nixon said "I am not going to place any limitation upon the use of air power" in Indochina. Again in November, as he announced the latest troop withdrawals, he emphasized that "it is particularly important for us to continue our air strikes on the infiltration routes" in North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; he warned that bombing would be stepped up as infiltration continues. Last week's raids involving up to 350 aircraft were the fifth "limited duration reinforced protective reaction" strikes in North Vietnam last year. There were 105 smaller "protective reaction" strikes, five times as many as in 1970. When a reporter asked Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird just what the new attacks were in reaction to, he said they were primarily "to protect our diminishing forces in South Vietnam." They were also in retaliation against "violations" of "so-called understandings" that accompanied the bombing halt in 1968 – vague understandings that the US never officially published and which the North Vietnamese never acknowledged. Other administration officials, including State Department spokesman Charles Bray, suggested that the attacks were ordered to punish North Vietnam for shooting down four American fighter bombers over northern Laos, 10 days earlier. But of all the words spoken, those of the Pentagon's Jerry W. Friedheim most deserve to be embedded in amber: "We haven't resumed the bombing campaign on the north."

Nixon's war strategy now amounts to thinning out American troops while beefing up aerial bombing, especially in Laos and Cambodia. In the olden days of Goldwater it was called Victory Through Airpower. The administration denies this. Air Force Secretary Robert Seamans presented six charts at a press conference last month showing that US bombing in all of Indochina has fallen almost 50 percent since the peak in 1968, with the bulk of the reduction in North and South Vietnam. Even so, a Cornell study of the air war estimates that US planes let loose 300,000 tons of bombs on South Vietnam in 1971, equal to the 1966 level, which is sizable if you're in the wrong place on the ground.

The US has launched a completely new war over Cambodia that has created two million refugees since March 1970, according to a GAO report prepared recently for Sen. Ted Kennedy. Mr. Nixon has also intensified air raids over Laos; the bomb tonnage dropped is double what it was in 1968. It's impossible to state with absolute precision the extent of US bombing of these two countries, because the government won't release sortie figures except on a classified basis to

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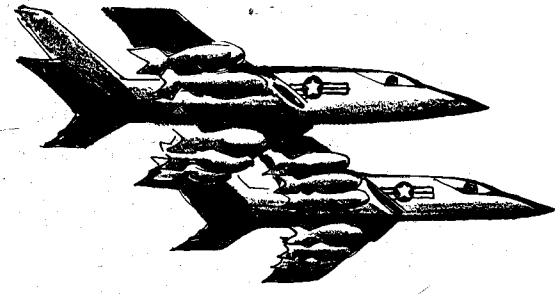
Congress, and it seldom will report bomb tonnage figures to anybody.

The bombing of Laos started in 1964 but soared shortly after Nixon took office, as aircraft used in the North Vietnam Rolling Thunder operation became available. The administration portrays the Laos operation as limited – limited to saturation strikes intended to impede supplies for South Vietnam. In the north, US planes back up Royal Laotian ground troops in a guerrilla war against the Pathet Lao, supported by North Vietnamese. The fighting there is connected only tangentially to the war in Vietnam – and then only if one assumes, as the Pentagon does, that the bombing ties up men and resources that might otherwise go to South Vietnam. Secretary of State Rogers believes that bombing Laos and Cambodia "is essential for the continuation of the Vietnamization program," and adds as proof that the Communist offensives in Laos and Cambodia were a "clear indication of the failure of their military activity in South Vietnam." But the bombing of Laos and Cambodia doesn't seem to have stopped the Communists in Laos or Cambodia. Pathet Lao control more of Laos than at any time during seven years of American bombing. Last month, Pathet Lao forces recaptured the Plain of Jars, which has changed sides four times in the past two years, yielding to the Communists in the dry season, then back again to the Royal Laotian troops in the wet season. This time, the insurgents seized the plain with tanks and heavy field guns, which they have never used before. In the southern panhandle, meanwhile, US planes are pummeling the Ho Chi Minh Trail with over 1000 tons of bombs each day. Air Force Secretary Seamans predicted the Communists would get only half the supplies they need to fight effectively; as he spoke they were winning major victories in Cambodia, where the US-backed government is in danger of collapse and where the US is dropping 300 tons of bombs each day, according to the Cornell study.



"Here come our replacements."

Tonnage statistics don't accurately measure the air war, because the figures aren't as important as where the bombs go and what kinds are used. In Laos and Cambodia, fewer bombs with greater "kill power" are being used than during previous stages of the Indochina war. In addition, under the code name Igloo White, the military has developed an electronic warfare system which relies on electronic sensors to pinpoint targets, and on laser homing devices to guide the bombs. Pentagon talk about "interdiction" and "truck counts" on the Ho Chi Minh Trail gives the impression that US planes are bombing lifeless roads, jungles and equipment. Actually, the "trail" is a diffuse network of roads that pass through villages and countryside inhabited by about 200,000 people. US "rules of engagement" forbid bombing within 500 meters of an active village, but one bomb used in Laos, the seven-and-a-half-ton "command vault," kills life within a mile radius and maims and injures within three miles. It's about as powerful as a small atomic bomb. Investigators for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee found last summer that the rules are often violated, accidents happen all the time, and there are at least 15 "free fire" zones where the rules don't apply. American journalists aren't permitted to accompany US bombing missions over Laos, as they are in Vietnam, but foreign journalists touring the countryside report entire civilian villages being flattened. The once fertile Plain of Jars, which supported 100,000 people before 1967, is now a wasteland. Approximately one-third of the 2.5 million Laotians have become refugees.

By election time, Mr. Nixon hopes to have most of our troops home, but that's not likely to include 26,000 airmen operating out of Thailand and 10,000 more on aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin. By New Year's Eve, 1972, the Cornell study indicates, the military under Nixon as Commander-in-Chief had dropped more than three million tons of bombs on Indochina – more than the US dropped in all theaters during World War II and the Korean War, combined. LBJ didn't win the war by massive bombing plus half-a-million US troops; Nixon won't by massive bombing and far fewer troops. What he might do is postpone, at least until after November, the collapse of our clients. It is a desperate gamble, played from weakness, not strength.

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Good Old Government

Airlines may not like Washington to stick its nose into rate-making decisions, and aerospace may think federal tax rates are too high. But neither industry, nor a growing list of others, is reluctant to ask the federal government to bail them out in times of profit shortage. Invariably, those private entrepeneurs have some appealing reason for running to the Treasury: jobs need saving, industrial capability and capacity must be preserved for national defense, foreign companies are competing too successfully because of cheap labor and government subsidies, the American public must continue to get service that industry is providing at insufferable loss. The Civil Aeronautics Board is preparing legislation to create an Aerospace Reconstruction Finance Corporation with authority to allocate up to $1 billion to ailing airlines and aerospace firms. The loan guarantee agency, says CAB chairman Secor D. Browne, is vital if private aviation is to develop the kind of aircraft needed in the future. While the CAB ponders, the airlines are working another street, trying to persuade Congress to block the introduction of unusually low air fares to Europe by foreign carriers.

Airlines and aerospace are only the latest in a long line. Lockheed Aircraft, of course, gets special federal loan guarantees and extra government business to keep it afloat. The Navy finds it necessary to sweeten the F-14 airplane contract to save Grumman. Penn Central Railroad is alive only because it gets taxpayer largesse. Ditto for the passenger business of almost all railroads. The brokerage industry was propped up by a taxpayer-financed Securities Industry Protection Corp. after innumerable firms got into trouble because they couldn't keep their paperwork under control or played hanky-panky with customer money. The housing industry successfully lobbies for more and more federal assistance in homebuilding, and most building firms refuse to engage in urban redevelopment or new towns unless assured of getting taxpayer dollars if the firms flop. Steel, shoes, textiles and a host of other industries lobby, often successfully, for government protection against imports.

Another development which has gone virtually unnoticed is the reliance of the nation's private credit industry on borrowing by the federal government. In 1969, for example, of $97 billion raised in all credit markets, $12 billion represented government funds. In 1972, the total is expected to be $137 billion, of which the government's share will be about $55 billion.

This is capitalism? It sounds more like state socialism. There was a time when American capitalism depended primarily on such things as product improvement and innovation, more research and development (even the Nixon administration thinks current private "R and D" spending is excessively low), lower prices and better quality. Maybe the day is gone when such remedies can save a corporation or an industry. If that is so we had better undertake a national debate on the causes and even the cures. The present pyramid of subsidy and quasi-regulation has been put together piecemeal, with practically no thought to overall policy and significance. The subject deserves closer scrutiny, not only within government but within the business community.

Getting the Bugs Out

There's a fascinating item in the 1972 defense budget, about $130 million for chemical and biological warfare research and weapons procurement, only a bit less than the military had in 1969 before President Nixon renounced the use of biological weapons and pledged not to make any use of bacteriological weapons, even in retaliation; it was his "initiative toward peace." The army gets $50.8 million of it for weapons procurement, twice as much as last year. More than half of that will pay for "smoke munitions," white phosphorous anti-personnel bombs which explode into flames. Biological research has dropped 28 percent since Nixon's pledge, to $13.2 million. Funds for chemical warfare are raised to $29 million in fiscal 1972, to finance a search for new lethal and incapacitating chemical agents, dispersion techniques and defenses. The big push in chemical weapons development is behind the XM 687 155mm binary weapons system, in which two or more nontoxic agents are combined en route to the target, to become a lethal compound. The military can adapt this chemical bomb to current delivery systems, like field howitzers, which makes it a money saver. The army plans to replace existing chemical stockpiles with the binary weapons system, at a cost of about $1 billion. "Work in each of these areas are [sic] continuing *at funding levels* equal or exceeding those prior to the 'public relations' announcements of cessation of these efforts," according to DMS Market Intelligence Report, a defense industry newsletter.

Mr. Nixon had announced on November 25, 1969 that the US would never engage in biological warfare, that the government was renouncing "first use" of lethal and incapacitating chemical weapons, and was ending all biological warfare research except for purely "defensive" purposes. Often it's a matter of definition. Thus, tear gas is permissible, for it is not "incapacitating," it is a "riot control" weapon. In Vietnam, the United States was the first, and only, nation to use herbicides, crop killers and CS gas, and the United Nations General Assembly voted 80-3 that such weapons constitute chemical warfare, but the US has always insisted they don't count.

Defensive and offensive research are often identical. In both, researchers must develop biological agents, test them, then try to find antidotes, and if another ad-

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ministration were to disregard Mr. Nixon's "limitation," it could produce and multiply biological agents rapidly. Tiny amounts are effective: The army has developed a botulin toxin so virulent that one canister could kill literally everyone.

For a year, it has been said in Washington that Ft. Detrick, the main biological research center near Frederick, Md., would be transformed into an HEW health research center. So far, according to the November DMS, the army has transferred 71 persons from Ft. Detrick to the Edgewood Arsenal, where weapons are manufactured, and 15 to Dugway Proving Grounds in Utah, where 6400 sheep were accidentally killed in a nerve gas experiment in March 1968. At the Presidio in San Francisco, the army is building a $7 million complex called the Western Medical Research Institute, whose blueprints are almost carbon copies of the labs at Ft. Detrick. A Defense Department spokesman says the center will specialize in studying the "types of diseases" which could be used in a biological attack.

The army has reportedly started closing its labs at Pine Bluff arsenal, where biological agents are manufactured. Mr. Nixon announced one year ago that he was handing over that arsenal to the Food and Drug Administration for food additive, drug and pesticide research. The army is not expected to leave Pine Bluff for another year or two, however. Meanwhile, CBW production there does not seem to have stopped: an American Friends Service Committee research group identified ads in the June 14 *Commerce Business Daily*, calling for bids on ammunitions and explosives needed at Pine Bluff to make incendiary anti-personnel weapons. "The [CBW] field is difficult to crack," reports the DMS Market Intelligence Report, but there are good future opportunities "either in the industrial or academic communities." The November DMS lists Aerojet General, Dow, Honeywell, National Drug, Litton and Monsanto among 38 major companies which are the beneficiaries of current CBW contracts.

The Little Lord

One Democratic primary that apparently won't mean anything this year is the District of Columbia's. Walter Fauntroy, former aide to the Rev. Martin Luther King and DC's recently elected non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives, has announced his intention to run as a favorite son. Fauntroy will do this purportedly to develop a "Washington Agenda" which he can then sell to the major candidates. Like most traditional favorite sons, Fauntroy wants to keep others out and lock-up the District's delegate votes for himself. But he is more explicit about this than most politicians. He states flatly that any white candidate who enters a slate in the District primary will lose credibility with blacks everywhere else.

Stated in those terms, Fauntroy's position is indefensible. Julian Bond and others who have urged black favorite son or favorite daughter candidacies have done so to increase black rank-and-file participation in primaries and representation at the Convention – not to foreclose the participation of other candidates. Shirley Chisholm has talked of entering New York and several other primaries, but she has lacked the audacity to declare the turf off-limits to McGovern, Lindsay, Muskie, Humphrey, Jackson, and any other Democratic presidential hopefuls who might come along.

Residents of Washington, DC have not been overwhelmed by the number of elections they are permitted to vote in. 1964 was the first year they could cast a ballot for president. They have no representation in the US Senate, and only a single, non-voting representative in the House. There is still no home rule in Washington – the city's mayor was appointed by Richard Nixon. Walter Fauntroy must feel some frustration as he flees the House floor when debate ends and the quorum buzzers sound announcing the commencement of a vote. It is ironic that this same non-voting delegate who has also become the leading local spokesman for home rule and the right to vote for mayor, should now be the chief instrument in denying the right of the District's Democrats to vote in a meaningful presidential primary.

The District primary could have been one of the more interesting of 1972, despite its small number of delegate votes. Blacks represent about 20 per cent of the total Democratic vote for president nationally, and both party reform and an upsurge of interest in the presidential nomination promise to enhance the role of blacks at the 1972 Democratic Convention. Facing the possibility that a caucus of Black delegates and alternates at that Convention could number well over 500 persons, which of the current Democratic aspirants could justify passing up an open primary in the nation's only jurisdiction where a majority (71 per cent) of the population is black?

Moreover, all of the current crop of Democratic candidates – Muskie, Humphrey, Lindsay, McGovern, Jackson, and McCarthy – have lived and worked in Washington during their tenure in Congress. They have all voted on District appropriations for health, welfare, housing, mass transit, but without accountability. The residents of the nation's capital have never had the opportunity to judge them up or down. It would have been interesting to see these current and former members of Congress campaigning for the votes of those over whose lives they have had so much influence.

Actually, voters in the District of Columbia have a far larger stake in presidential primaries than residents of other states. For them, the next president is a local government issue, and barring the unlikely passage of home rule, this might have been a significant oppor-

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tunity to help select the man who will appoint their next mayor. Since the Democratic primary promises to be such a dull affair, maybe Rep. Paul McClosky should enter the GOP primary in Washington, DC against President Nixon, and run on local issues. Then the Republican convention could face a "Washington Agenda" of its own, more democractically developed.

Buying Drugs

Most pharmacists refuse to post or discuss on the phone the fees they charge for filling prescriptions, even though most orders merely require transferring pills from one bottle to another. The reason for this, they say, is that their professional ethics prohibits advertising, and half the states have regulations specifically forbidding "promotion" of prescription drugs. But the President's Price Commission threatened to overturn all this, at least temporarily, with a ruling that retail stores had to post prices of the 40 best-selling items in each department by January 1 or face a $5000 fine. Two national drug-store associations asked the commission to exempt pharmacies as "professional services," but got no reply by the deadline.

The city of Boston is the only jurisdiction in the country that *requires* posting of prescription prices as an aid to consumers. When the law went into effect early this year, many pharmacists complained, but the Osco drug chain, which runs a store in Dorchester, liked the idea so well it decided to post prices in all of its 176 branches. Most of these branches are in mid-western states that have laws against advertising drugs and whose pharmacy boards consider price-posting a form of advertisement. Two months after initiating its new policy, Osco faced court action in eight states including North Dakota, which threatened to suspend Osco pharmacists' licenses.

The American Pharmaceutical Association, the pharmacists' lobby in Washington, formally condemns advertising and informally denounces price-posting as well. In its own interpretation of the Price Commission guidelines, the association has announced that pharmacists needn't post prices because they're among the automatically exempted professional services. The association says that price listing encourages people to buy more drugs than they need and minimizes the valuable services of the pharmacist. Their chief claim is that drugstores aid customers where doctors fail, by keeping personal medical records and preventing people from taking prescriptions that might interract dangerously or produce allergic reactions. It's true that people often visit more than one doctor, accepting prescriptions from each, thus risking a conflict of medication. But they also visit different drugstores, which means that record-keeping, where it exists, doesn't necessarily reflect an accurate history of prescriptions.

The chain stores, which account for most drug business, seem to consider file-keeping a waste of money. Of Washington, DC's three big drug chains, for example, only two have attempted to keep medical records of customers, and both of these consider the attempts experimental. A spokesman for the larger one says that about 12 of the 250 branches keep medical profiles, and the other chain estimates that 25 percent of its 130 stores do so. This kind of bookkeeping requires cooperation of customers and pharmacists to work at all, and often neither is interested. Even if states forced pharmacies to keep records—as Virginia, New Jersey and Delaware do—the system would fail unless customers used the same store for all their prescriptions.

There's a good chance that the Price Commission will finally rule in favor of the drugstore lobbies, reinforcing the pharmacists' claim to professionalism by allowing drug prices to remain unlisted. But stores that want to list prices can take heart from Osco's precedent, and prepare to go to court against state boards that interfere. There's no reason why a customer shouldn't be allowed his choice: if he wants to pay for personal record-keeping, let him go to a store that charges for it. If not, let him take his chances. In either case, knowing the cost ahead of time won't hurt him.

Another Sales Tax

The word is out that President Nixon is about to drop a nifty present on the doorstep of every American home. The package will contain federal funds to localities to replace what has been called "the hated local property taxes" on residences, with a more equitable means of raising revenue. The strategy is to win the approval of very middle American homeowners who are complaining about the tremendous rise in local taxes. At the same time, it will steal more thunder from the Democrats, especially Muskie, who have their own plans for restructuring local government financing.

The administration has been increasingly critical of our present fiscal system, which relies heavily on the property tax to finance local government. Last September, reacting to the California Supreme Court decision which, in effect, struck down that state's system of paying for public schools through the property tax, the President set up a 16-member Commission on School Finance to recommend ways to equalize the school spending within the states. Later, he told the White House Conference on Aging that he wanted a complete overhaul of state and local revenue systems

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to relieve "the crushing burden of property taxes for older Americans."

The value-added tax, or VAT, seems to be the alternative the administration will propose. In a recent column, Joseph Alsop described VAT as another one of those bombshells, like the family assistance plan and wage and price controls, not to mention the Peking trip, by which Nixon hopes to knock Democrats out of the headlines and out of the hearts of the voters. Alsop reported that a three percent VAT would raise between $10 billion and $12 billion, which is about the share of the national school bill that is now paid by "the hated local property taxes." The money from VAT would be parcelled out to the states, and from them to the localities, on a roughly per pupil basis. It would replace any school taxes on residential property. Whether a value-added tax turns out to be the "sensible, practical, equitable" revenue-winner Alsop predicts is another matter. What the VAT does is to add a tax onto an item at each state of production from raw material to final retail sale. Theoretically, this should add up to a kind of uniform national sales tax on the consumer. What has often happened in countries where it is used is that producers all along the way treat the tax as a cost increase, and mark up their goods accordingly. Hardest hit, of course, are the low and moderate income consumers, though they may not be aware of it.

Replacing the residential property tax with another unfair and inequitable tax seems not only pointless, but inconsistent with the President's inflation control policies. It would require an elaborate bureaucracy to police, and Mr. Nixon is opposed to more bureaucracy. Nevertheless, the indications are that when the school finance commission makes its report this year, a value-added tax will be one of its recommendations.

Misplaced Zeal

Just before Christmas Congressman Cornelius Gallagher (D., N.J.) got up a good head of steam about a big grant by the National Institute of Mental Health to B.F. Skinner. Gallagher issued a six-page release of his House speech denouncing the grant. His release was headed "$283,000 of Federal funds to Harvard Psychologist B.F. Skinner to write *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*." NIMH was obliged to issue a counter-release saying that the award was not given specifically for the book in question.

The Gallagher account did not note that the Skinner grant was one of 20 Senior Research Career Awards, that is, plums for scientific leaders in "mental health" across the board rather than a unique grant. No new awards of this kind have been made by NIMH since 1964, but 18 of them, which were originally for five years, have been renewed. Skinner's was renewed in 1969, so his $283,000 amounts to $28,300 a year ending in 1974. The particular award was made for the purpose of "integrating and consolidating" Skinner's findings and "considering the application of the science of behavior to the problems of society" – which is grantsman's jargon for the professor to do his thing, hardly instructions to write a best seller. Skinner has continued to teach roughly one seminar a year at Harvard since 1964, and has also advised individual students; the award will continue for him (and he will presumably go on integrating and consolidating) for three more years. In other words his Harvard salary will be paid by the feds until then, a bonanza perhaps more rewarding to Harvard than to him, since he could command at least as large a salary (and for as little regular academic work) in a number of other places.

Still, Gallagher is right that *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* is a best seller. It has been so for two months; it will doubtless be in paperback for years, and like *Walden II*, which came out in 1948, it should make a pile (with 125,000 now in print Skinner should already have made nearly $100,000 on it). And Gallagher is right that the sheer size of the award is discouraging, at least to non-scientists, since the arts and humanities don't begin to have that kind of federal money for individual grants. If the National Endowment for the Arts were to strew $300,000 in Philip Roth's path there would be hell to pay—but it couldn't happen; the sum is as outlandish as the thought.

Yet there would seem to have been absolutely no hanky panky in the award, though the Gallagher heading suggests it. What the Congressman is really incensed at, it turns out, is not the money but the book itself. In *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*, he says, Skinner "is advancing ideas which threaten the future of our system of government by denigrating the American traditions of individualism, human dignity and self-reliance." Should federal funds be advanced for such advancings? – obviously not, thinks Gallagher, who then launches an attack on behaviorists in general and concludes ominously by asking how many others among the 70,000 HEW grantees are in the behavioral camp. For it is in the behavioral camp, he informs us, that "seeds of our own destruction" are being sown.

Threatened humanists like the editors of *The New Republic* are hardly the ones to defend behaviorists or behaviorism, and Skinner's volume was reviewed unfavorably here (see the October 16, 1971 issue); yet even to humanists Congressman Gallagher's diligence seems excessive. His is the recurrent diligence of the always somewhere present Congressional censor; it is this attitude toward federal grants that inevitably ties them in with security clearances and being an all-American boy. We conclude that the nation's intellectual freedom is far less threatened by B.F. Skinner than by conditioned behavior of Congressmen who only want the "right" research to be subsidized.

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See America

April 27, 1971 was an historic day for beautification – it was the occasion of the first official billboard-felling under the six-year-old Highway Beautification Act of 1965, which requires states to maintain "effective control" of highway advertising. Secretary of Transportation John Volpe and Governor Kenneth Curtis of Maine were on hand in Freeport, Me. to see it down, the first of 839,000 slated for destruction. Volpe had said in 1970 that he was firm about cleaning up the highways: "I think we can, and should, take a positive approach to the billboard problem and get on with the job." But Volpe, Congress and the federal system have made the job immensely complicated by insisting that every billboard owner receive "just compensation" for signs removed and property made off-limits for advertising.

Before passage of the 1965 beautification act, no one expected it would cost $300 million to clear highways of this jet-age advertising jungle. In view of the federal government's delay in getting started, it's not surprising that some states went ahead without budgeting compensation for the sign owners. Of the 25 states whose billboard regulations followed a 1958 federal bonus plan, 23 were not compensating for removal of signs, but were allowing instead for an amortization of the investment costs over time.

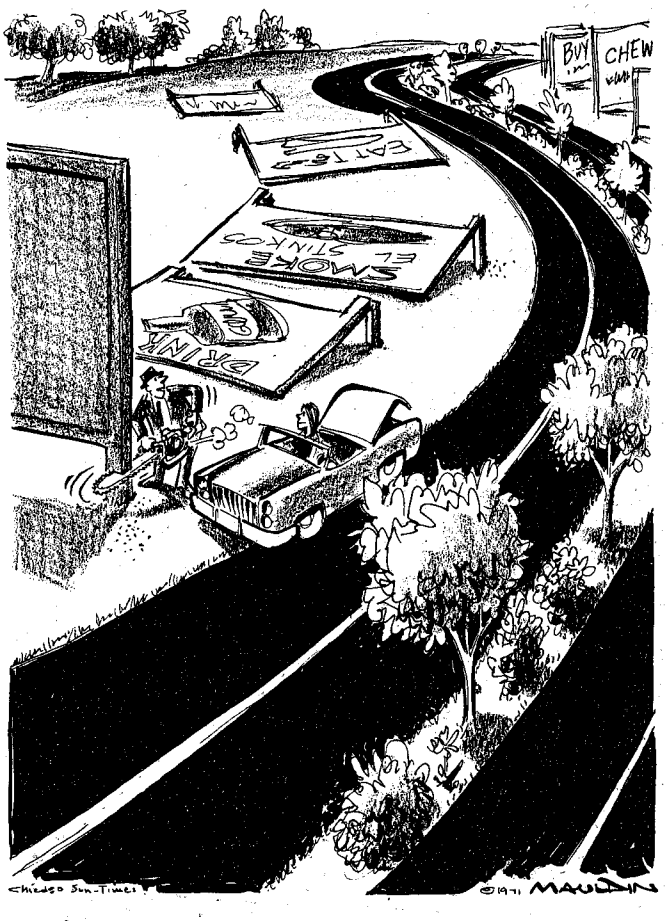
For a while, Volpe ignored states that continued to raze billboards without compensating owners: as long as there were no federal funds, he wouldn't invoke penalties for short-cutting federal regulations. But late in 1970 the Federal-Aid Highway Act authorized $97.5 million over three years to help remove billboards, not all of which may be there to spend. Although only $10 million was then available, Volpe decided to invoke the long-neglected federal clause on compensation. He wrote to several governors, pointing out that the 1965 act calls for "just compensation" and requires an agreement on the size, spacing and lighting of roadsign billboards. "Lacking such an agreement," Volpe said, "the statute requires me to reduce the regular federal-aid apportionment to your state by 10 percent." The message was unmistakable: pay the billboard interests or forfeit millions in federal aid.

Philip Tocker, president of the Outdoor Advertising Association, asked the Federal Highway Administration on March 26 whether states were allowed to remove billboards without compensating owners if they decided to withhold payment until federal funds were appropriated. The answer was *no:* states that refuse to compensate, for any reason, are liable to penalty. If they wished to cut down billboards, they would have to pay from their own pockets or risk losing one-tenth of their federal highway aid.

The legal question in debate is whether a state is violating terms of the 1965 act when it refuses to compensate owners. In support of his view, Volpe can cite Ramsey Clark's decision as Attorney General in 1966, that Congress had intended to force states to pay compensation. Clark argued that this would not violate the Tenth Amendment, which reserves for the states all powers not constitutionally granted to the federal government. An equally valid legal argument would stress the federal act's authorization for "stricter" standards by the states – perhaps eliminating the compensation requirement.

The only person in the country suing to test the Volpe interpretation is Richard Lamm, a law professor at the University of Denver. The state attorneys general, who logically should be the states' advocates, have in effect knuckled under to Volpe's legal assumption.

A group of Ann Arbor high school boys with chain saws felled more illegal billboards in a single evening than five years of federal administration have done. For their efforts, the boys were charged with a felony; but the penalty for leaving billboards standing illegally is neither swift nor certain. No state has suffered a cut in federal aid, and few signs have come down. So far, more than two-thirds of federal expenses have gone to studying the problem; the Department of Transportation concedes that, judged by current spending, billboard control is more than a century away.



"We paid for this highway and we've got a right to enjoy it."

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The Nixon Watch

Toilet Training

The recent rumpus over the use and abuse of "background" news cannot be intelligibly discussed without reference to the toilet situation aboard Air Force One, a conveyance that I refuse to join Mr. Nixon in calling The Spirit of '76. Most of the people who travel on the President's plane ride in the staff compartment between his private quarters and the rear section. The only facility available to them is opposite the space in the rear section where a press pool of five reporters and three photographers is seated. Mere rank, it must be understood, does not admit anybody on the plane to the President's territory. This means that Cabinet officers and staff assistants of high and low degree must either exert remarkable control or confront the pool reporters at some point during all but the shortest flights. Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler acknowledged that he had the resultant problem in mind when he said at the White House on December 15 that "Government officials who are on board Air Force One and accompanying the President feel that they are somewhat limited, or hesitate to a great extent, walking to the press area because they feel they are going to be driven into an immediate press conference situation."

Now for some necessary definitions and a few opinions before we get to the core of the story. The press pool on Air Force One is chosen by the White House press staff. It is limited in number because space on the plane is limited. The pool is the agent of all the publications and electronic media represented by the scores of other reporters, photographers and technicians who travel on a chartered press plane, usually preceding the President to his destination and following him back to Washington. By old and generally accepted custom, all of the represented media are bound by whatever rules the pool on a given flight may accept when the conditions governing the use of information imparted on the plane are laid down either by the official source or by the accompanying press officer. Very little on-the-record information, attributable to a named source, is provided on presidential flights. On many flights, none at all is provided. When information is offered in flight, it is usually under one of three rules that also govern much of the news provided in Washington. News provided on a "background" basis may be attributed to an unnamed official or to unnamed officials and the place where they work (White House, State Department, etc.) may be identified. "Deep background" news may be attributed only to unnamed official sources, without mention of any place or agency. And there is "the Lindley rule," formulated by and named for Ernest K. Lindley, a former Washington correspondent and State Department official. Under it, no attribution of any kind is permitted. A reporter either uses the information on his own authority or doesn't use it. In Washington and elsewhere, these rules are the subjects of perennial complaint by reporters and editors who feel that the background device in its various forms is misused and abused by officials. Indeed it is, for everything from plain lying to the flotation of trial balloons. This fact notwithstanding, I have no sympathy for the complainants. Reporters and editors who let themselves and their publications be "used" by backgrounding officials in a wrongful way have only themselves to blame. Reporters and editors who can't spot the lies and prick the balloons shouldn't be in the news business. Colleagues who are under greater competitive pressures than I am tell me that this is a sanctimonious attitude, irrelevant to their situation and problems. Maybe so. But it's my attitude and I stick to it.

Now to the story. The most skillful backgrounder in Washington and one of the most frequent visitors to the rear section of the President's plane is Henry A. Kissinger, the assistant for national security affairs. Kissinger and the President recently agreed that his background cover had been blown so often that he should do more talking on the record and less in concealment. But our Henry just loves to background: the practice gives play to his wit, feeds his abundant vanity, and in his own opinion serves essential purposes of diplomacy. When Kissinger encountered the pool reporters on the afternoon of December 14, flying home from Mr. Nixon's conference in the Azores with President Pompidou of France, the conflict between India and Pakistan and the administration's sorry role in it were much on the minds of the journalists. The subject was especially on the mind of David J. Kraslow of the *Los Angeles Times*, who had reported in his paper that morning that the Indo-Pakistan affair had occupied more of Nixon's and Pompidou's time than the official accounts indicated. Both Kraslow and Kissinger said later that Kissinger appeared in the pool area at the reporters' insistent demand and that his remarks were offered in answer to extremely persistent questioning. Assuming this to be so, what happened on the plane and afterward is all the more extraordinary. The least to be said about it is that Kissinger, with the President's knowledge, used to the utmost an opportunity that was forced upon him.

The key section of the customary pool report, typed out by Kraslow and photocopied aboard the plane for distribution to the general press upon arrival in Washington, was preceded with the following notation: "Lindley rule-deep background: it was the pool's impression that the information in this category could be written on our own without attribution to any administration official – at least that is what we understood Kissinger to have in mind." Kissinger had this in mind because he was dealing with what the administration believed to be the Soviet Union's calculated support of India and deliberate refusal to help the US govern-

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ment bring about a cease-fire. This view had already been conveyed to the press, though not in a way that could be attributed to any responsible official. In a passage that will figure in the diplomatic history of the time, the pool report continued: "Asked what the Soviet motive is in its behavior on the India-Pak (*sic*) war, Kissinger said it is apparently to humiliate China – to show to the world that China cannot prevent what is happening in Pakistan. Asked if there is a danger of the South Asian situation deteriorating to the point that it might affect the President's plans to visit Moscow, Kissinger said not yet but that we would have to wait to see what happens in the next few days. Asked if we should infer from that statement that if the Russians didn't begin to exercise a restraining influence (on India) very soon, the plans for the President's trip might be changed, Kissinger said in such an event the entire matter might well be re-examined. He said the US is definitely looking to the Soviets to become a restraining influence in (the) next few days. But if the Russians continue to deliberately encourage military actions, a new look might have to be taken at the President's summitry plans."

Kraslow sent the typed original to Kissinger, for his review and approval. Kissinger changed the statement that "the entire matter might well be re-examined" to read, "the entire US-Soviet relationship might well be reexamined."

Here was an attempt to have the press report on its own authority, with no citation of any official source, a threat to the Soviet leaders whom Mr. Nixon hopes to cultivate in Moscow next May. It was too much for *The Washington Post*, which in a front-page story identified Kissinger and quoted the pool's version of his remarks. The *Post* justified its violation of the rules with a pious blast at the background process: "We are now convinced that we have engaged in this deception and done this disservice to the reader long enough." This noble sentiment was followed by a brilliant piece of *Post* reporting, simultaneously noting and puncturing the administration's background claims to have whipped the Soviet Union into line and to have brought about the India-Pakistan cease-fire. The *Post* account relied almost entirely upon background information dug out by its reporters on their promise not to identify the sources. Kissinger plugged the administration claims in backgrounders for Associated Press and United Press International reporters. John Scali, a former TV commentator who works at the White House, briefed reporters who couldn't get to Kissinger. At the State Department, Assistant Secretary Joseph Sisco did his bit for the Nixon line. It was all done at Mr. Nixon's order. "High administration officials" had their day in the national press and – who knows? – they probably were telling part of the truth.

John Osborne

Cooperatives That Work - II

Democratic, Up to a Point

by Peter Barnes

Berkeley, California

The board of directors of Safeway has on it J. G. Boswell II, one of California's biggest growers, two bank chairmen and a host of others concerned with maximizing profit and promoting large-scale agriculture. The unpaid directors of the Consumers Cooperative of Berkeley include a teacher, a nutritionist, a lawyer, a flooring contractor whose concern is to serve the consumers who elect them. This difference in leadership objectives makes a difference in the way stores are run.

The first thing that strikes a shopper entering a Co-op supermarket is a feeling that the store is on his side. Posters and displays help him select the best nutritional and dollar values, not lure him into impulse buying. Charts along each aisle list the per unit prices of comparable products and brands; dating codes are clearly marked and explained; warnings are posted next to products deemed unworthy ("Tang may be handy when camping—we do not recommend it for regular use"). There is a free community bulletin board, a kiddie koral where mothers may leave their toddlers in good hands, and a suggestion box that gets results.

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If the shopper looks closely, he will notice a relatively good ethnic balance among employees (although women are underrepresented) and a price structure that is, according to a survey by the San Francisco *Bay Guardian*, about one percent higher than Safeway's but lower than most other chains' and grocery stores'. It is, in short, a pleasant place to shop, a place where one can be confident of quality and honest prices (if there are any "profits" at the end of the year they are distributed to members in proportion to their patronage).

Yet the differences between the Co-op and Safeway are diminishing. Partly this is because Safeway is beginning to imitate many of the Co-op's pro-consumer policies. It is also an inevitable consequence of the Co-op's own success. Thirty-five years ago, when what is now the Consumers Cooperative of Berkeley began as a series of buying clubs and a service station, organized by Finns and a Protestant study group, there was an *esprit* about the common enterprise that is now lacking. The cooperative was more than a place for buying goods and saving money; it was a way for neighbors to get to know each other, as well as a movement with a sense of mission. It's pretty hard to detect much missionary zeal in a $40-million-a-year business that, with 23 stores and gas stations, wholesaling affiliates and associated services, has taken on the trappings of a local conglomerate. To the average Berkeley resident the Co-op is just another large and impersonal institution; he spends money there, but is otherwise uninvolved.

Some of the younger people around Berkeley have, in consequence, established buying networks called "food conspiracies." Most of these are organized in a non-hierarchical as well as non-profit manner. Responsibilities are shared and rotated; there are no distinctions between management, employees and consumers. Each week all participants in a "conspiracy" pool their food orders, and the members whose turns are up make the rounds of wholesalers and producers, buying in bulk and eliminating as many middlemen as possible. The purchases are then distributed from a yard or garage.

The conspiracies often work well but there are inherent weaknesses: personalities clash and members move or lose interest, making many of the networks as turbulent and ephemeral as the Co-op is steady and ever-growing. And therein lies a dilemma that has haunted American cooperatives: is it possible to prosper and at the same time retain the cooperative spirit? Putting it conversely, can a cooperative which puts primacy on member participation and internal democracy achieve stability and longevity?

The Consumers Cooperative of Berkeley has been grappling with this dilemma for years. Its first concern has always been to survive as a business. To survive it was necessary to compete with chain stores, which meant getting big enough to achieve economies of scale. Getting big meant having to employ business techniques that hardly emanated from Rochdale. Thus, in 1962, the Co-op decided to purchase Sids Stores, a local five-store chain, without consulting its membership. Many members felt this was a violation of cooperative principles; the board contended it had to act quickly and quietly or the opportunity would have been lost. This year the board decided to expand into a low-income area of Oakland. Some members argued that a cooperatively oriented membership base should have been established first, else the Co-op was little different from a chain store. Co-op officials responded that it would take too long to build a membership base without an on-going store, and that opening the Oakland branch was a practical way to help blacks.

With 60,000 member families in the San Francisco area, the Berkeley Co-op has met the challenge of getting big. It has not been quite as successful in keeping a sense of togetherness. Board meetings are lively but sparsely attended. When a committee was recently created to discuss ways of getting members more involved in the Co-op, only one of the nine persons on the committee showed up for the first meeting. And when the Co-op nominating committee looked around this fall for candidates for the upcoming elections to the board, it could find only eight persons willing to serve. Since the by-laws of the Co-op require at least nine candidates when there are six vacancies to be filled, the nominating committee had to plead in the Co-op newspaper for more contenders to step forward. (Eight more eventually did.)

Several years ago, co-op leaders experimented with a Co-op Parliament and a Co-op Congress, neither of which turned out very well. Under the present organizational structure each store, or cooperative center, has an elected council of members which enjoys a very limited degree of autonomy. Board members frequently pay homage to the idea of giving more power to the councils, but their preference for uniform policies invariably prevails. Lately the Co-op has switched from newspaper advertising that emphasized low prices to radio spots that stress the Co-op's institutional virtues – consumer ownership, patronage refunds, an elected board. This appears to have helped boost sales, but not the participatory urge.

Apathy may be brought about by other things than bigness and impersonality; it may be a sign of general satisfaction, or a product of the TV age. In any case, even without active member participation the Co-op management cannot help but respond to consumer interests, if only because the channels for member involvement remain available for use when needed, and because board members tend to be political liberals. It was prodding from members that persuaded the Co-op to open a natural food store, prohibit smoking and start a recycling center; encouragement from the board has made the Co-op an active spokesman in Sacra-

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mento on consumer issues. Occasionally the Co-op has even taken a position on non-consumer issues—it closed stores early one Moratorium day, and was probably the first supermarket chain in the country not to handle non-union grapes during the boycott. Its patronage refund system allows members to donate to SNCC, CORE, UFWOC and other movement organizations by purchasing on those organizations' co-op number.

Robert Neptune, who has been associated with the Co-op management since 1937, has written that the success of cooperatives in America depends upon their ability "to keep a good balance between the desire of the philosopher and the reformer and the operating requirements of the businessman." This seems as valid an observation as any that can be drawn from the Berkeley experience. Cooperatives, like small farms and almost every other form of independent business, have fallen victim to the mid-century dictum of expand or die—indeed, that they now must start big if they are not to go under quickly. Efforts to establish consumer cooperatives in New York, Baltimore, New Haven, San Francisco and other cities failed early in the game for lack of sufficient volume. The food conspiracies go on, but they are limited to people with considerable time and energy to expend, and to undertakings in which the required expertise and capital investments are minimal. All this may mean that small, closely knit cooperative societies are a thing of the past, that non-profit, consumer-owned (and perhaps worker-owned) enterprises must, under present conditions in America, function in ways not unlike their corporate counterparts. They can be democratic but only up to a point, and only in a representative, institutionalized way.

Who Owns the Oceans?
Fishy Business

by David F. Ross

So far in 1971, with the current fishing season just getting under way, some 50 US ships have been detained, and some $2 million in fines have been collected from their operators, by the government of Ecuador. This has been going on since 1952, when Ecuador first declared its sovereignty over the Pacific Ocean to a line 200 miles from the coast of this small nation on the northwestern shoulder of South America. Until that time, Ecuador was known only for its palace revolutions and its exports of Panama hats and bananas. It is now the leader of a movement whose followers include not only most of the maritime states of South America, but also the People's Republic of China.

The story of a small political unit fortuitously located at a strategic point on a major thoroughfare, which exploits its position by imposing substantial fines on passersby who unwittingly violate obscure and unreasonable ordinances, is a familiar one to Americans. We call such situations "speed traps," and we rightly resent and combat them. In the case of Ecuador, our resentment is heightened by the fact that we have provided that country with over $300 million in economic and military assistance while this was going on, and that several of the naval vessels employed in the operation are on loan to Ecuador from the US Navy. Protesters have, on occasion, prevented the unloading of Ecuadorian bananas in California ports. Congressman Charles Wilson, a California Democrat, has demanded sanctions against Ecuador. The American Tuna Boat Association has requested armed escorts for its members' ships, and has accused the US Navy of "timidity and cowardice" in the face of "piracy." Congress has passed legislation authorizing the State Department to deduct the amount of fines from US aid to Ecuador, and is now considering making this mandatory. A Senate-House committee considered but rejected an amendment, sponsored by Senator Cannon of Nevada, which would have automatically terminated all aid if Ecuador were to confiscate one of the ships, as had been promised in the event of a third offense. The world's largest tuna vessel, the $3 million *Apollo*, recorded its first two of-

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fenses last January and March, and was ready for the role of *cause célèbre.*

The United States officially claims, and recognizes elsewhere, a three-mile territorial limit, and an additional "contiguous zone" out to a total of twelve miles within which the adjacent coastal state is entitled to regulate fishing and certain other activities. Beyond that lie the high seas – a concept dear to the hearts of seafaring nations since Queen Elizabeth I and the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius first gave it life not quite four centuries ago. Since the ascendancy of British naval power, no nation has contested the right of all peoples to travel, to transport cargo, and to fish upon the high seas – except by acts of war. It was, indeed, American commitment to the freedom of the high seas that provided the proximate cause of our entry into World War I. It would be difficult to find a principle of international law which has been as widely recognized and steadfastly defended for so long a period of time. Yet for 20 years, little Ecuador, with virtually complete impunity, has been openly and notoriously violating this principle. The Department of State has so far resisted all congressional and industrial pressure to impose sanctions. As for the navy, as recently as November 20 it sent a US submarine on a goodwill visit to Ecuador. For several days, the minuscule Ecuadorian navy was dividing its time between entertaining the officers and crew of the *Blackfin* in Guayaquil and guarding several impounded American fishing boats in Salinas.

The State Department has by no means been ignoring the expanding crisis – rather they have deliberately provoked it. Ecuador does not prohibit fishing within its claimed territorial waters; it merely requires that fishing boats be licensed. The fine is five times the license fee for a first offense and ten times for a second, and many fishermen would rather pay the fee than be harassed. State, however, has requested the operators not to take licenses, and as an incentive reimburses them for any fines. Most have honored this request. Whether they do so out of avarice, patriotism, or commitment to the rule of international law, this deepens their anger and frustration at the apparent unwillingness of Washington to do anything that might bring about a change.

There are many mysteries within the enigma of our present Latin American policy. Most of them can be resolved only by assuming that the President simply doesn't want to be bothered, and hopes the fuse won't burn down until his successor has been sworn in. In the present case, however, there are some other factors involved. The issue which Ecuador has raised is not the freedom of the high seas, but the boundary of the high seas, and this is an issue which urgently needs to be raised and resettled, for a variety of reasons including not only national defense but also environmental protection and natural resource development and conservation. Our three-mile limit was adopted for considerations of national defense. When we adopted it, in the eighteenth century, it was the maximum range of a cannon ball. If we were to permit unidentified jet aircraft to approach within three miles of our coast before challenging them, the show would be over before it started. Even though Elizabeth I prophetically included the freedom of the air with that of the sea in her historic proclamation, neither Britain nor any other nation contests our right to challenge aircraft within 200 miles of our coast. The fact that we do not assert this as a territorial claim makes it not less but more momentous than anything Ecuador has done. They are attempting to redefine the high seas, while leaving the freedom thereof intact; we are setting a limit on freedom of movement over what we explicitly recognize to be the high seas.

It may be argued that the national defense policies of major military powers have never been considered as subject to international law. A much more delicate and difficult question is also involved, however, resulting from two major developments with which national defense is only peripherally involved. One is that with increasing population, production and commerce, we are at last becoming aware that the ocean is not really a bottomless and infinitely self-restoring garbage pit. Adventurers who cross the ocean in small boats increasingly report its surface littered with trash. Deserted beaches of undiscovered tropic isles are covered with articles of plastic left, not by careless campers, but by what Grotius called "the vagrant waters of the ocean." Oil slicks, either from leaky tankers or from offshore wells, are destroying not only natural beauty and recreational resources, but plant and animal life as well. No one knows what quantity of nerve gas, atomic waste, and other troublesome by-products of our advanced military technology can be dumped into the ocean safely, but no one can doubt that there is a limit, or that the actions of one nation can affect the interests of many.

The other development is the dawning of realization that the resources of the ocean are at once more limited and vastly richer than man ever before imagined. They are richer, that is, in variety. The value for human nutrition of ocean plant life is just beginning to be appreciated; but even more, the mineral resources of the ocean floor and subfloor, and the technology for their exploitation, are contemporary discoveries. They are more limited, at the same time, in the sense that we now know we cannot fish or hunt or harvest without endangering species unless the process is regulated, and we cannot extract minerals from the earth without diminishing finite stocks.

Because of these new developments, the whole concept of the high seas needs reexamination. It has always been recognized that any freedom is limited by the freedom of others. Even on the high seas, the freedom of a ship to sail a straight course has always

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been limited by laws and customs governing right-of-way. It is past time to recognize that it must be further limited by regulations affecting the ship's disposal of wastes, the security of its cargo, its source of power, its insurance coverage, and doubtless many other aspects of its mode of operation. It never was clear that freedom of the seas included freedom to implant oil drilling rigs, sink mine shafts, establish seaweed plantations, and so on. The very concept that the use of the seas is free to all rests, in fact, on the presumption that nothing about them is capable of being staked out, fenced off, fastened down, or otherwise secured. Unless the development of the ocean floor is to come about through territorial conquest by the more powerful nations, it has got to come about through international agreement which somehow fundamentally alters the outmoded division between territorial waters, contiguous zones, and high seas. This matter is under consideration by the United Nations, but it is moving forward with something less than dispatch. Not unnaturally, the more technologically advanced nations would like to stake out as many claims as possible before international regulation becomes effective. The US claim to the resources of the continental shelf, which was asserted by President Truman in 1945, is an example. It had no basis in law. It was not contested because no nation was interested in drilling for oil off our shores in the sure knowledge that we would contest their claims by armed force if necessary, and because many other nations welcomed an excuse to lay claim to their own continental shelves. When the 1958 Geneva Conference on the law of the sea took place, however, it could do little else but legitimize what Senator Claiborne Pell had described as "the most painless territorial conquest in history."

With the possible exception of oil spills, the conservation of fishery resources is perhaps the most acute of all these vexing problems connected with our use of the oceans. Many varieties of marine life are now in danger of extinction, while others have become so costly that the incentive to their over-exploitation is irresistable. The law of the high seas, that anyone is entitled to anything he can catch, is so clearly obsolete and contrary to the common interests of mankind, that it simply cannot be maintained. For every enterprise in this competitive business, however, as long as effective regulation does not exist, self-interest dictates grabbing onto as big a share as possible while there is still something left to grab. The only restraint at present on such legal and rational but profoundly anti-social behavior exists when fishing grounds happen to lie within the jurisdiction of a particular state. The tuna, and the tuna fishers, congregate about 150 miles off the coast of Ecuador. To argue that the government of Ecuador should therefore stand aside and let the species be destroyed while the United Nations debates a new convention on the high seas is to be not only naively legalistic, but also, given the present state of the law, legalistically naive.

If the matter had never been debated, the United States and other naval powers could argue that the three-mile territorial limit had the force of international law through long-established custom. Such is not the case, however. The 1958 Geneva Convention on the territorial sea failed to define its limits, and was followed by a 1960 conference specifically called to make up that deficiency, at which no agreement could be reached. The effect of this was to agree that there is no specific number of miles generally recognized among nations as limiting territorial claims to the sea. Another conference is scheduled for 1973. Until then, the position of the State Department in avoiding, on the one hand, any action which might be interpreted as recognition of the 200 mile claim, and on the other hand, any action which would bring it to a legal test, is probably the better part of valor.

Events, meanwhile, are not standing still. In 1960, Canada stood together with the United States in proposing agreement on a six-mile territorial limit. In 1970, without explicitly making a territorial claim, she enacted a pollution control act covering water 100 miles from her coast and asserting the right to police and impose both civil and criminal penalties in the area. At the same time Canada, which has never been called a banana republic, withdrew its acceptance of the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice over disputes involving Canadian claims concerning the "conservation, management or exploitation of the living resources of the seas," or the "prevention or control of pollution or contamination of the marine environment." The trend is clearly in a direction such that, if any agreement is reached in 1973, it will be one which either establishes effective international regulation of the use of the resources of the high seas, or recognizes much broader jurisdiction on the part of maritime nations than the United States has heretofore been willing to acknowledge.

It seems likely, despite official statements to the contrary, that the Ecuadorian and other South American claims are negotiable. This is so because they do not need all that they claim to accomplish what they wish to do. Either an international agreement to regulate fishing on the high seas, or recognition of a 200-mile "contiguous zone," would serve their legitimate purpose. In the former case, a reasonable provision that licensing fees would be used to reimburse adjacent coastal states whose naval forces were employed to enforce the agreement would also serve whatever purpose of questionable legitimacy Ecuador may have. In the meantime, it would be well for congressmen and their constituents to consider that in any heating up of the tuna war the position of the United States is likely to be judged, not as a staunch defense of freedom of the seas, but as a covetous assault on the world's dwindling resources.

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Stanley Kauffmann on film

A Clockwork Orange
(Warner Bros)

Macbeth
(Columbia)

In one way Stanley Kubrick's new film is cheering. This time, as in all his work before *2001*, he sticks to a narrative, depicts character, opts for "literary humanism"—does all the things that some critics claimed he had deliberately abandoned, in the space picture, for a new esthetics. Perhaps the new esthetics *was* only a wobble? Revised editions of various pronunciamentos may now be in order.

But there isn't a great deal more to celebrate in *A Clockwork Orange*. Certainly there are some striking images; certainly there is some impudent wit, some adroitness. But the worst flaw in the film is its air of cool intelligence and ruthless moral inquiry because those elements are least fulfilled. Very early there are hints of triteness and insecurity, and before the picture is a half-hour old, it begins to slip into tedium. Sharp and glittery though it continues to be, it never quite shakes that tedium.

The screenplay, by Kubrick, follows Anthony Burgess' novel fairly closely in story, but that's not much of an advantage. This novel of the near future hasn't got much of a story, as such; Burgess relies principally on an odd language he has devised—a mixture of current English, archaic English, and anglicized Russian (today, yesterday, and the future). This language, more than any other element, is asked to hold the reader, indicate social change, and suggest moral quandaries. The effects are limited; it's not my favorite Burgess by any means.

Kubrick's first mistake may have been to select a book whose very being is in its words. The film is inevitably much weaker. Kubrick uses the verbal texture as far as possible, which cannot be far. The language cannot create a world for him as it does for Burgess. The modest moral resonance of the book is reduced: partly because of certain small changes, like converting a murder victim from an old woman to a sexy broad and killing her with a giant ceramic phallus (thus changing sheer heartlessness into sex sensation); mostly because Kubrick has to replace Burgess' linguistic ingenuity with cinematic ingenuity, and he doesn't. The story as such is thin, so the picture thins. In *2001*, the *longueurs* came from Kubrick's neglect of narrative to revel in gadgetry, but at least some of the gadgets and images were extraordinary. Here he doesn't neglect story for display, he depends on display to *make* his story, but his invention this time is weak.

The scene is England. Alex, a young ruffian, leads a quartet of young ruffians whose hobby is "ultra violence"—binges of rape and assault. Alex's one paradoxical quality is his love of classical music, particularly Beethoven, particularly the Ninth. One night Alex goes too far, accidentally kills a woman, is caught, and is sentenced to 40 years. A new psychological process for rehabilitating criminals has been devised and, by agreeing to be a guinea pig, Alex has his sentence commuted.

The process is plain Pavlovism: he is strapped in a chair with eyelids clamped open and electrodes on his head, is shown films of violence and sex along with a Beethoven sound-track, and has shocks administered to sicken him as he watches. Later, when he attempts violence—or hears Beethoven!—he feels violently ill and must stop.

His case has been kicked around in the press as a political football. The Opposition party roars that a human being has been dehumanized, etc. Some Opposition people abduct him after his release, closet him with an endless recording of the Ninth to make him sick and raving, to drive him to suicide—for their advantage. But he is salvaged by the Government. At the end the Pavlovian cure is reversed: Beethoven once again brings on fantasies of sex and violence and Alex is once again ready to ravage.

Much of the dialogue, and all of Alex's narration, is in Burgess' newspeak. Kubrick, like Burgess, relies on context to make unknown words clear. This is more difficult for the ear than for the eye, but, in the main, it happens, though slowly.

Inexplicably the script leaves out Burgess' reference to the title: it's the title of a book being written by a character in the novel, with an excerpt provided to clarify. That author's book-inside-the-book is a protest against "the attempt to impose upon man, a creature of growth and capable of sweetness. . .laws and conditions appropriate to a mechanical creation. . .", the attempt to make a growing thing into a mechanism, even—as Stanley Edgar Hyman said—to eliminate his freedom to sin.

Now this is hardly a staggeringly new concept or protest, but Burgess makes it mildly interesting because of the linguistic acrobatics he can perform while expounding it. Kubrick is stuck with the message and, for this work, the wrong medium. We simply see the

(continued on page 32)

Films Worth Seeing

Carnal Knowledge. Jules Feiffer cartoons with words about US tail-chasing males, sometimes sharp, mostly shallow. But Mike Nichols directs well, and Jack Nicholson, though miscast, is powerful.

Desperate Characters. Best film on this list. About today's ignored subject: the liberal middle class and *their* drama. Kenneth Mars (good) and Shirley MacLaine (OK) as beleaguered husband and wife. Frank D. Gilroy wrote and directed with impressive feeling.

The French Connection. Zow. Also pow. A thrilling thriller, about drugs in Marseilles and New York. Gene Hackman heads a perfect cast, William Friedkin cracks a mean director's whip.

The Last Picture Show. Small-town Texas, 1951, and a youth's coming-of-age. The tone and intent are rather familiar, but most of the acting is good, and Peter Bogdanovich, the young director, was born to make movies.

Sunday Bloody Sunday. Included here because of Glenda Jackson's performance and Penelope Gilliatt's dialogue. But the script doesn't do much more than describe characters, in this London hetero-homo triangle. John Schlesinger has directed better.

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All the Imagination Can Hold

The Collected Poems of Frank O'Hara
Edited by Donald Allen

(Knopf; $17.50)

Frank O'Hara's work has already influenced a generation of young poets; some of those who are not poets may find it hard to judge the importance of what he has done when critics so often mistake solemnity for seriousness, obscurity for profundity, and the expression of pain for intensity of feeling. O'Hara's poems are buoyant, exuberant, wild, personal, open in troubling and troublesome ways, sometimes humorous, often about seemingly ordinary or trivial things, and radically original in form. They are the result of an unfamiliar aesthetic assumption: that what is really right there, in the poet's thoughts, fantasies, and feelings, is what is richest in possibility and worth the most attention. Beginning with whatever is there, if one's feelings are stirred by it, is the best way to get anywhere –

That's not a cross look it's a sign
of life
but I'm glad you care how I look
at you . . .

In a book of twenty or thirty poems, certain of Frank O'Hara's subjects (lunch, movies) could seem trivial and wilful because chosen at the expense of others; in this book of five hundred poems what strikes one is the breadth, sincerity, and exuberance of his concern for life. At first overwhelming, it is also liberating: by caring so much for so many things, he gives us back feelings of our own and permits us to respect them. Garbo and Aphrodite are connected, but an exclusivist Yeatsian poetry can say only that they are one (like Maude Gonne and Helen of Troy) or that one is a cheapened version of the other. Frank O'Hara's poetry gives us the freedom to respond to both – as we do anyway, but not so much before he showed us how.

The honesty and immediacy of the poems are communicated in a verse which has seemingly learned plainness from Williams, variety from Pound, grandeur from Whitman, and music from all three; the result is a poetic line with more capability for drama, more flexibility, and more delicacy in rendering nuances of the speaking voice than any I know in modern poetry. It takes a whole poem to hear it right, but the conclusion of "Ballad" may give an idea (see below).

In this poem, as in others, the movement seems determined by a musical line of feeling rather than by an intellectual working out or a preconceived form. It is as if the poet were writing to his feelings, as one might write poetry while listening to Chopin, letting the melodic rise and fall of the sound determine what one says. Frank O'Hara did in fact write some of his poems while listening to music; the immediacy of the relationship of what is happening outside to what happens in the poem is characteristic.

Frank O'Hara wrote his poems quickly, unexpectedly stirred by something he was thinking or feeling, often when other people were around. The speed and accidental aspect of his writing are not carelessness but are essential to what the poems are about: the will to catch what is there while it is really there and still taking place –

I better hurry and finish this
before your 3rd goes off the radio
or I won't know what I'm feeling . . . .
(On Rachmaninoff's Birthday #158)

There is a difference between a feeling seized rapidly, while it's happening, or while it's being created (for his poems create feelings as much as they expose them) and a feeling considered in any other way. In catching a feeling in the process of coming into being, or as it first explodes into a thousand refractions, one can hope to reveal some of the truth that lies hidden in our unconscious, in all the things we have known and felt but can't be aware of simultaneously. The form of Frank O'Hara's poetry is flexible and consistently experimental – flexible, to accommodate the poem to whatever is taking place; experimental, perhaps for a number of reasons, among them to help awaken, by strangeness of form, new perceptions while he is writing.

For all their use of chance and the unconscious, Frank O'Hara's poems are unlike Surrealist poetry in that they do not programmatically favor these forces (along with dreams and violence) over the intellectual and the conscious. He must have felt the power and beauty of unconscious phenomena in surrealist poems, but what he does is to use this power and beauty to ennoble, complicate, and simplify waking actions. His poems are like atoms for peace rather than for war; he brings unusual powers to everyday activities. His inability, or unwillingness, to stay in the realm of dreams and super-powers, stated explicitly at the end of "Sleeping on the Wing," is everywhere evident in his work.

And, swooping,
you relinquish all that you have
made your own,
the kingdom of your self sailing, for

from the conclusion of "Ballad"

you know that I don't want to know you
because the palm stands in the window disgusted
by being transplanted, she feels that she's been outraged and she has
by well-wisher me, she well wishes that I leave her alone and my self alone
but tampering
where does it come from? childhood? it seems good
because it brings back the that
that which we wish that which we want
that which a ferry can become can become a bicycle if it wants to get
across the river
and doesn't care how
though you will remember a night
where nothing happened
and we both were simply that
and we loved each other so
and it was unusual

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you must awake
and breathe your warmth in this
beloved image
whether it's dead or merely
disappearing,
as space is disappearing and your
singularity.

Of course it was not only the speed, spontaneity, and immediacy with which Frank O'Hara wrote which enabled him to write this poetry. It is a method of composition to surprise a confusion of riches – but the riches have to be there. Without them, poems written this way can seem like surprise raids on empty buildings. Along with his brilliant intellect and his wide-ranging knowledge of music, dance, art, history, and philosophy, Frank O'Hara had an ability to fantasize himself to be almost anybody, anything, anytime, anywhere; and he also had an unusual gift for friendship and for love, for identifying himself with, and for transforming other people and their concerns. None of which detracted of course from his passionate concern about himself and his own life, and about all this he was always thinking, meditating "in an emergency." It was always an emergency because one's life had to be experienced and reflected on at the same time, and that is just about impossible. He does it in his poems. The richness of his perceptions gives the poems their characteristic dazzle:

kisses! kisses!
fresher than the river that runs like
a moon through girls

. . . . . .

alfalfa blowing against sisters in a
hanky of shade

(Easter)

What spanking opossums of sneaks
are caressing the routes!

(Second Avenue)

The most ordinary things are presented with enough complexity to make them real –

an enormous party mesmerizing
comers in the disgathering light

(Joe's Jacket)

and the most complex things are said as simply as possible:

it is all enormity and life it has
protected me and kept me here on
many occasions as a symbol does
when the heart is full and risks
no speech
a precaution I loathe as the pheasant
loathes the season and is preserved
it will not be need, it will be just
what it is and just what happens

(Joe's Jacket)

The richness and agility of his mind can be seen clearly in his images, which tend to be instantaneous, immediately changing into something else, as in the first stanza of "Sleeping on the Wing" (see page 28) or in these lines from a slightly earlier poem:

he is throwing
up his arms in heavenly desperation,
spacious Y of his
tumultuous love-nerves flailing like
a poinsettia in
its own nailish storm against the
glass door of the
cumulus which is withholding her
from these divine
pastures she has filled with the
flesh of men as stones!

(Blocks)

The effect can be a crowding and brightness which are "more than the ear can hold," as Frank O'Hara wrote of an orange bed in a painting by Willem DeKooning, and almost more than the imagination can hold, but not quite. One's feeling of being overwhelmed gives way to a happy awareness of expanded powers of perceiving and holding in mind.

The *Collected Poems* cover a period of eighteen years (1948-1966). They move in general from being experience-inspired outbursts of imaginative creation to being imaginative illuminations of ordinary experience. What we see at first is a brilliant talent finding and testing itself in art, music, literature, and history, as well as in relations with a few friends. There is an atmosphere of continual invention and excited experimentation with form. During the first years in New York (1952-54), unhappiness and despair come into the poetry as they hadn't before, and with them a kind of toughness and defiance and the creation of rugged, hard, brilliant, surfacey kinds of poems ("Easter," "Hatred," "Invincibility," "Life on Earth," "Second Avenue") which in some ways resemble the big abstract expressionist canvasses Pollock, De Kooning, and others were painting at that time ("Easter" and "Second Avenue" seem to me among the wonders of contemporary poetry) –

My hands are Massimo Plaster, called
"White Pin in the Arm of the Sea"
and I'm blazoned and scorch like a
fleet of windbells down the
Pulaski Skyway,
tabletops of Vienna carrying their
bundles of cellophane to the
laundry
ear to the tongue, glistening semester
of ardency, young-old daringnesses
at the foot of the most substantial
art product of our times
the world; the jongleurs, fields
of dizzyness. . . .

(Second Avenue)

Like many of the shorter poems, these long poems seem composed at high speed, as if they were attempts to catch an infinite succession of moments or the infinite expansions of one. They are all in one breath – or in a series of breaths, each held as long as possible. In the late fifties there is a different kind of long poem ("In Memory of My Feelings," "Ode to Michael Goldberg"), more introspective and directly autobiographical, more modulated in tone. Also of this period are many of what Frank O'Hara called his "I do this, I do that" poems, such as "The Day Lady Died," "Personal Poem," "A Step Away from Them." These are followed (1959-1961) by a number of wonderfully tender and delicate love poems – such as "Les Luths," "St. Paul and All That," "Poem: Hate is only one of many responses." He wrote about them, "everything is too comprehensible/these are my delicate and caressing poems" ("Avenue A"). In the sixties there is the amazing "Biotherm," countless days with all their thoughts and sensations jammed into one rapidly shifting and unstopping statement, and shorter poems like it, such as "Maundy Saturday" and "New Particles from the Sun."

The changing character of the poems, however, is less remarkable than the energy and the vision that are everywhere present in them. The *Collected Poems* shows these qualities better than a shorter volume could: the range of Frank O'Hara's enterprise as a poet is so important a part, finally, of his work's value. It is a great experience to read it all. I have known Frank O'Hara's work for about twenty years, and I had read a great many of the poems before. One reaction I had to this book, though, was astonishment. All those "moments," all the momentary enthusiasms and despairs which I had been moved by when I first read them, when they were here altogether made something I had never imagined. It is not all one great poem, but something in some ways better: a collection of created moments that illuminate a whole life. Historically, his work seems

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

KENNETH KOCH'S *most recent book of poems is* Pleasures of Peace. ANN DOUGLAS WOOD *teaches English at Princeton University.*

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to me to represent the last stage in the adaptation of twentieth-century avant-garde sensibility to poetry about contemporary American experience. In its music and its language and in its conception of the relation of poetry to the rest of life, it is a poetry which has already changed poets and others, and which promises to go on moving and changing them for a long time to come.

Kenneth Koch

In Brief

Source Catalog – Communications by the Source Collective

(Swallow Press; $1.75)

Source deals in information: where to find the resources you need for initiating and spreading radical change in America. If the *Whole Earth Catalog* was a bible for hermit radicals returning to the land, *Source* is the bible for their social-action counterparts. A Washington, DC, collective drove a van 20,000 miles to 50 campus communities, to compile this rich assortment of publications, groups and services concerning the mass media, art, music, theater, film, television and radio, printing and publishing, language and libraries, and community communications – all with a radical perspective. If you're interested in guerrilla theater, *Source* can refer you to the Bread and Puppet Theater in Plainfield, Vt. or the Appleseed Circus in Denver, Colo. It catalogs underground radio stations, counseling services for runaways. If you're a computer lover, *Source* will help you call Meta Information Applications, a group of New York computer technicians who promote "human uses of computer technology." The catalog also lists straighter, basic reference sources every investigator needs, such as "Interpreting FCC Broadcast Rules and Regulations" and "The Congressional Record." A reference work is only as good as its index; the *Source* has compiled a fairly detailed subject/name index with crosslistings. Each entry has a paragraph description, plus phone number and mailing address. This "communications" volume is billed as only the first in a series of similar catalogs on such "struggles" as community organizing, cultural liberation, health rights and "medibiz," environment, US Government and the Movement, and economics.

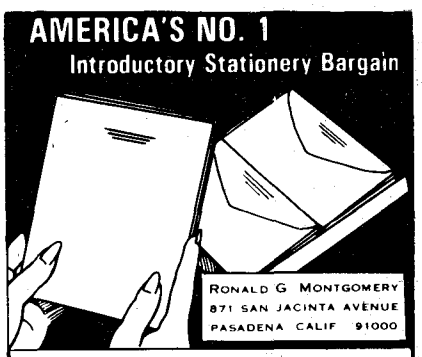
The Schlemiel as Modern Hero by Ruth R. Wisse

(University of Chicago Press; $5.45)

Mrs. Wisse's book is a short, scholarly and witty study of the schlemiel in Jewish literature. It is also a presentation of his counterpart in other cultures, showing tersely their similarities and divergencies. All the material is treated by Professor Wisse with skillful dexterity, insight and compassion. It is evident that she is thoroughly conversant with her subject and appreciative of its great charm.

To those who may never have met one, which is doubtful, a schlemiel is the archetypical fool who, while theoretically correct, is practically absurd, thus embodying the ineptitude of the human condition. (Saul Bellow's Herzog is a latter-day example of the genre.) The schlemiel represents the psychic condition of the marginal man: intense, vulnerable, out-of-step, submissive, credulous and predictably routed. But he has one preservative characteristic: this is his simplicity in a demented world, expressed either in aleatory questions or in unintended irony, which eventually exposes reality to ridicule. Thus, his naivete becomes, through laughter, wisdom beyond intelligence, and his failure creates a parody of success.

Mrs. Wisse traces the evolution of the Eastern European bumpkin into the nineteenth century political, satirical and literary schlemiel mainly through the works of Rabbi Nachman, Mendele Sforim and Sholem Aleichem, concluding her analysis with contemporary authors such as Bellow, Friedman, Malamud and Roth. She decides that the holocaust of Nazism and the events of the sixties have virtually extinguished the credibility of the schlemiel as a likely modern hero. Extermination, militancy, polarization, activist Zionism and uneasy assimilation, whatever their presumptive rationale, have lamed comic humanity. The popular anti-hero in contemporary literature, as represented by Roth's Alexander Portnoy, is a self-described victimized male whose humor is abusive, behavior abrasive, and grievances tiresome rather than tragic. He is



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a far cry from his literary progenitor, the schlemiel, who transcended cruelty and failure with faith, powerless endurance, and balanced irony.

Peace with China? US Decisions for Asia Edited by Earl C. Ravenal

(Liveright; $7.50)

Here's another assemblage of very bright "in-and-outers" mixed with former government officials and present academic specialists. Their repartee about decision-making, strategy, and defense budgets may bemuse persons interested in the bureaucracy but it offers little that pertains to the genuine question: what are the prospects for war or peace with China and how are they affected by alternative US policies? On page 149, one participant wisely remarks, "I think it is important to bring the discussion into focus." However since no one previously has really defined a single focus, he fails as does the editor. Not until page 197 does a genuine authority on China, William W. Whitson (formerly US Army, now The Rand Corporation), make the first substantive offering on "the Chinese threat." Only in pages 221-2 does the editor, Mr. Ravenal, begin to discuss future US-Chinese interactions and their implications. Such other passing references as occur on this subject are, for the most part, superficial or outdated by developments since the conference, held by the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. during September 1970.

The recurring attacks on the Nixon Doctrine come easily, given the predominantly Democratic cast of the participants, the Doctrine's intentionally vague formulation, and its random relevance to administration behavior. Far more trenchant and revealing is Mr. Ravenal's analysis of the wheeler-dealer calculations behind juxtaposing US force and military aid levels in South Korea against South Korean troops in South Vietnam, an issue of continuing importance. Pierre M. Sprey provides an illuminating discussion of the chicken-egg properties of defense planning and military capabilities, keyed to the critical variable of "small incremental changes from existing force and budget levels." Morton H. Halperin wisely warns of possible Japanese reactions to US policy moves, since realized in the aftermath of "Nixon shocks."

Obviously eighteen intelligent, thoughtful, and experienced specialists can provide rich fare for the layman and delectable morsels are scattered throughout the volume. It has no interrupting commercials and it has much good sense, but it has little to do with China.

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The Responsibles: How Five American Leaders Coped with Crisis by William S. White

(Harper & Row; $7.95)

White, a columnist who has repeatedly emptied both barrels at kneejerk liberals, continues. Here he writes of leaders who have been severely undercut by their critics, particularly for their militarism, and finds they have been misunderstood. He argues that Truman, Taft, Eisenhower, JFK, and Lyndon Johnson were heroes governed by modesty and common sense. Truman, for example, though full of petty vanities, was a model of caution – and a true citizen of the world – when voices on the right tried to pressure him to use the Bomb against Russia and China. And the militarist Eisenhower ducked military adventure in Vietnam despite his own secretary of state's credo of massive retaliation.

Although White provides the illusion that his book is primarily a collection of Profiles in Prudence, he gives highest marks to his Responsibles for their anti-Communism. Johnson especially. White does not accept the US presence in Vietnam as a tragic misadventure, and holds that Johnson had no options when he committed American lives to a land war in Asia. Johnson thus is discovered to have been the most viciously maligned of American Presidents – maligned by Kennedyites, by Eastern reporters who disliked Texas, by liberals who ignored Johnson's revolutionary domestic achievement, and by rightists who found him lacking the gambler's heart that would have made him go for broke in Vietnam. White's brand of Americanism is a bit dated, but the style carries the vigor of a 20-year old.

My Land is Dying by Harry Caudill

(Dutton; $6.50)

Harry Caudill has already published two books on the coal industry and Appalachia, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* and *Dark Hills to Westward*. This new one deals with coal stripping. It's short (144 pages) and persuasive, with 35 pages of photographs that suggest a scale of devastation difficult to put in words. One of the most frightening shows a 32-story-high earth-gouger peering like a science fiction monster over the crest of a hill into the main street of a small Ohio town, ready to gobble it up. Appalachia's hill people have been exploited for years by coal businessmen, talked into signing land deeds they couldn't understand, and ignored until very recently by the legislators they've voted into office. Here is the evidence, along with a general history of the rise in coal stripping since World War II. It is all told with admirable restraint.

Correction: *In our recent "Reconsideration" of Henry George's* Progress and Poverty *by Peter Barnes we announced that the book was available in the Modern Library. It is not (Modern Library withdrew it from its active list last year) but it is available from the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation at 50 East 69th St., NYC 10021 ($3.00).*

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Reconsiderations

Ralph Waldo Emerson

I know only one person who still reads Emerson voluntarily and spontaneously, for profit if not for pleasure. My grandmother, raised in a small rural town in New York in the 1880s and '90s, surviving now in a strange world chiefly through her extraordinary willpower, keeps a volume of Emerson by her favorite chair along with her knitting and snapshots of her great-grandchildren. Indifferent to Emerson's larger philosophic and artistic purposes, she rereads his key essays quite frankly searching for slogans to use in her own battle with life. "Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind," she copies down painstakingly in a brown notebook she keeps especially for inspiring quotations. The only book she prefers (outside of the Bible) is Norman Vincent Peale's *The Power of Positive Thinking*. Her instinct is sure: Peale may be intellectually and spiritually a bastard child, but he is nonetheless Emerson's offspring. And the use to which she puts Emerson as a booster to her own will to survive in a world she did not make is the one Emerson served for a generation of Americans, and the one that makes him surprisingly fascinating and pertinent to a modern reader.

Representative Men
by Ralph Waldo Emerson

Originally published in 1850 by Phillips Sampson & Co., Boston. Now available in Vol. 4 of the *Complete Works*, AMS Press, Inc., $15 per volume; also in *Essays, Representative Men & Poems*, William Collins Sons & Co., Ltd. (215 Park Avenue S., NYC 10003), $2.45.

The ironic muse of history played one of her better jokes in enabling the ex-Unitarian minister Ralph Waldo Emerson, by his own confession coldblooded and temperamentally distant from other people, to start a genuine if outwardly decorous revival in Unitarian and upper-class Boston when Lyman Beecher, the powerful and histrionic revivalist from Connecticut, had failed to do so. Beecher left Boston in 1832 for the pioneer west: Emerson stayed home and lectured steadily, beginning in 1833, for some thirty years, appearing to his contemporaries as a sort of savior, converting men from a deathlike apathy to a sense of renewed life. In 1868, James Russell Lowell tried to explain what Emerson had meant to him and to others of his generation:

> he brought us life. . . . To some of us the long-past experience remains as the most marvellous and fruitful we have ever had. Emerson awakened us, saved us from the body of this death. . . . Were we enthusiasts? I hope and believe we were, and am thankful to the man who made us worth something for once in our lives.

Not content to have implicitly put Emerson into the role of Christ, Lowell makes him the god of a fertility cult by subtly underscoring his virility and sexual potency. The essence of Emerson, in Lowell's opinion, was his "manhood," his "masculine faculty of fecundating other minds." Similarly, in 1850, Theodore Parker, the radical Unitarian minister, had compared Emerson to Phoebus Apollo, pouring light "on seeds new sown to quicken their ambitious germ."

It was for men like James Russell Lowell and his circle, educated intellectuals unsure of the worth of trained intellect in Jacksonian America, that Emerson performed his Norman Vincent Peale function. Emerson saw their dilemma clearly, it was his own. "The disease with which the human mind now labors," he announced in his famous lecture on "New England Reformers" of 1844, is "want of faith," want of faith in "education," a want strongest in the educated men, the scholars themselves. They wondered, as Emerson himself did; if the preparation Harvard and similar institutions had given them to lead the nation had any power except to make them sensitive but effete observers of a largely uneducated society hopelessly beyond their means of control. It was to their curious crisis of faith in what they called their manhood that Emerson applied his transcendentalist mind-cure and advertised his calisthenics of self-confidence. "How can he [the educated man] be honored when he does not honor himself?" he demanded in 1845.

Representative Men, originally a series of lectures focusing on heroic figures of the past, and probably Emerson's most significant attempt at resolving the American intellectual's dilemma, seems painfully dated to a modern reader. Presumably few today would find much intellectual meaning or sustenance in the solution Emerson offers in *Representative Men*, namely "a self-surrender to the moral sentiment." Yet the problem Emerson analyzes – of whether or not the intellectual can ever be a hero – is still with us. And beyond that, Emerson's particular crisis when he delivered these lectures remains surprisingly relevant. Faced by the growing abolitionist movement with its promise of purposefulness and direction, he attempted to puzzle out the nature of the scholar's political role. In order to be a hero, had the scholar to become a radical, an activist, or could he find the stuff of heroism in the basic tools and activities of the intellectual's life? Emerson, face to face with the frightening but appealing fanaticism of a Garrison, strikingly resembles today's liberal college professor confronted by the insistence of his radical students or colleagues.

In part, Emerson responded by a not very covert call to be ravished, as he imagined with palpably sexual fascination the dark shadow cast by the avenging reformer on his study wall. In an imaginary dialogue of 1844, he tells the anti-slavery extremists or, as he tellingly calls them, "raging riders who drove their steeds so hard in the violence of living to forget its illusion," that he resists them only to "drive" them to "drive" him into their measures: he awaits "the authentic sign," "the man who shall be born." The seduction scene underlying his fantasized political conversion is starkly evident when, casting himself as Caesar to the reformer's Cleopatra, he exclaims, "All . . . will I relinquish if you will show me the fountains of the Nile." In this mood which would reoccur at various times all during his life, Emerson would consider the "Tsar"-like Carlyle, whom he likened to a hammer crushing out mediocrity, the ideal "scholar," and would relish his capacity for violence, with vicarious sadism.

This was the Emerson Nietzsche would find of such interest, but there is another Emerson as well. The second Emerson not only feared the violence he invoked but, more appealingly,

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wanted to believe that the act of thinking, rightly done, is itself sufficient proof of "manliness," that to weigh and judge, discriminate and decide is itself a form of leadership.

At the time he wrote *Representative Men*, Emerson was vacillating painfully between the two positions, and, in practical terms had done little to aid the abolitionists or any other reform group. In 1844, Margaret Fuller, acrid with a complex disappointment in him, frankly accused him of pervasive intellectual impotence: he was "a Jove, under the masculine obligations of all sufficingness, who rubbed his forehead in vain to induce the Minerva-bearing headache!" Her covert hint at a kind of sterile masturbation on Emerson's part still stings.

Emerson's "double consciousness," as he called it, was of long standing. His imaginary "transcendentalist" of an 1842 essay put the dilemma in an anguished query: "When shall I be relieved of the responsibility of seeing a Universe I do not use?" Not surprisingly, Emerson's chosen "representative men" are all, with the possible exception of Napoleon, intellectuals or artists. Although none of them are specifically reformers or anti-reformers, they fall, with a frightening neatness indicative of Emerson's divided state, into two categories: those who observe the universe and grow sterile through nonparticipation, and those who use it and are corrupted through their involvement. The lecture series ends up as a game of handy-dandy. On the one side are the observers, Plato ("the philosopher"), Swedenborg ("the mystic"), Shakespeare ("the poet"), whose detachment Emerson praises but whose final ineffectuality he fears; on the other side are the men of action, Montaigne ("the skeptic"), Napoleon ("the man of the world"), Goethe ("the man of letters"), whose virility and force profoundly attract Emerson but whose essential immorality frightens him. Clearly Emerson was not able to solve his problem by making any real choice between the two types of heroic roles he saw as possibilities for himself and the men like him. Yet, paradoxically, his inability to commit himself provided a kind of escape, and even a solution for him.

The first lecture of *Representative Men* was entitled "The Uses of Great Men," and in the word "uses" lies the key. Since none of Emerson's "representative men" turn out to be fully suitable models, Emerson and his listeners are absolved from the burden of imitation of either type: they must exploit rather than follow the great figures. And this is the real point of the book. When Carlyle delivered his lectures on *Heroes and Hero-Worship (1841)*, a major influence on Emerson's own work, he had doubts about the value of some of the heroes he mythologized, but none about the act of worship. Emerson, on the other hand, for all his now transparent elitism, was uneasily conscious of being in a democratic country: should or could anyone, much less the intellectual, be worshipped at all? More important, would not such an act somehow paralyze the American's ability to be as great as his ancestors? Did he not need to be as free from the past and from his predecessors as they had made themselves? In sum, Emerson, like so many Americans since, had to kill off his heroes. He had to assassinate them just as he had to mythologize them.

This is hardly to identify Emerson with Lee Harvey Oswald or Sirhan Sirhan, but it is to suggest that Emerson is part and parcel of the American imagination which at some obscure level is driven to sacrifice its own heroes as a partial protection against living so intensely and so vicariously through their mythologized exploits. An integral part of the legend of King Arthur has always been that he still lives and will return. In more recent and brutal times, Hitler has been credited with a kind of unkillability. But around American heroes, whether assassinated presidents, slain revolutionaries or gunned-down cowboy outlaws, no such aura of immortality gathers. Like Buffalo Bill in

Sleeping on the Wing

Perhaps it is to avoid some great sadness,
as in a Restoration tragedy the hero cries "Sleep!
O for a long sound sleep and so forget it!"
that one flies, soaring above the shoreless city,
veering upward from the pavement as a pigeon
does when a car honks or a door slams, the door
of dreams, life perpetuated in parti-colored loves
and beautiful lies all in different languages.

Fear drops away too, like the cement, and you
are over the Atlantic. Where is Spain? where is
who? The Civil War was fought to free the slaves,
was it? A sudden down-draught reminds you of gravity
and your position in respect to human love. But
here is where the gods are, speculating, bemused.
Once you are helpless, you are free, can you believe
that? Never to waken to the sad struggle of a face?
to travel always over some impersonal vastness,
to be out of, forever, neither in nor for!

The eyes roll asleep as if turned by the wind
and the lids flutter open slightly like a wing.
The world is an iceberg, so much is invisible!
and was and is, and yet the form, it may be sleeping
too. Those features etched in the ice of someone
loved who died, you are a sculptor dreaming of space
and speed, your hand alone could have done this.
Curiosity, the passionate hand of desire. Dead,
or sleeping? Is there speed enough? And, swooping,
you relinquish all that you have made your own,
the kingdom of your self sailing, for you must awake
and breathe your warmth in this beloved image
whether it's dead or merely disappearing,
as space is disappearing and your singularity.

FRANK O'HARA

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Cummings' poem, they are "defunct." Americans like their heroes dead, and like them to stay that way.

Emerson spent much of his life searching for a heroic model for himself. When he went to Europe after leaving the ministry (because he felt he could not be both a minister and "a man") and just prior to commencing his career as a lecturer, he wrote his Aunt May Moody Emerson that he was seeking a "teacher," "the master," "the man." Yet he was critical of all the candidates for the part he met: Coleridge, Wordsworth, even Carlyle, he found not quite up to his standard of the intellectual master. It seems pretty clear to a modern reader that Emerson, like Lowell and Parker, was looking for a father figure but hoping not to find him. Once, half in jest, remembering his own rather stern father, he said that as a boy he had felt like Adam hiding from God in the garden after eating the forbidden fruit. A key passage. He wanted to play Adam, but Adam in revolt against God. He did not want to find "the man," but to be "the man." So Emerson never found his "teacher," because he was in revolt against all teachers.

It is telling in this connection that none of Emerson's chosen "representative men" are Americans. He sidesteps all the figures who were held up to his generation as heroes. Webster is given only passing mention, and the thought of Washington calls forth the famous dictum, "every hero becomes a bore at last." He quotes with approval an imaginary "Jacobin" who swears "Damn George Washington!" Thus casually obliterating his listeners' immediate American ancestors, he presents them with their more distant although still oppressive European fathers; and he is meticulously careful to follow an account of these men's strengths with a summary of their weaknesses. If the great man's influence on his admirers is too strong, Emerson explains, the latter may become "underlings and intellectual suicides." This strong language expresses Emerson's intense anxiety that subservience to his models will somehow produce his own extinction, and accounts for the curious way in which he deflates every heroic figure he blows up. He flirts with the victimization they represent and which so fascinates him, but ultimately he dodges it.

What Emerson values in heroic men, he repeatedly tells us, is not their own deeds or minds. In fact, these do not really exist, since great men are not great because they create something of value, but because they share in a preexisting idea which will long outlive them. Here Emerson is neatly using Platonic idealism to reduce his gallery of potentially murderous Titans to representative men indeed, troubled by no dangerous life of their own. Their real worth lies in the liberating effect they have on others, on the spectators. With implicit sexual innuendos, Emerson describes the heroe's exploits as gymnastic stunts, which the observers admire as they might "the power and beauty of the [athlete's] body." Such inspiration acts like a shot of adrenalin, or an Alice-in-Wonderland potion. The spectator of the great men mysteriously expropriates their force: he "seems to multiply ten times or a thousand times his force." It is this sense of potency that Emerson wishes to create and guard, and it can apparently only be preserved if the object which arouses it is kept unthreatening. Great men are to be transmitters of life, rather than possessors of it – just, one might add, as Emerson himself was.

Emerson does not finally solve the dilemma that produced the lectures, namely, the problem of the intellectual as hero. Instead, he provides a kind of self-involved high for himself and his hearers. This induced transport in one sense evades the original issue, but, in another, temporarily solves it. To derive inspiration from a vicarious identification with heroic figures even while subtly undermining their lives and actions is to become, for the moment, a hero even while justifying an abstention from conventional heroic action. Determined not to be a 90-pound weakling of the Brahmin class, Emerson wanted to learn the trick of self-confidence – and his American genius was to know it was in part a trick, a kind of juggling of moral attitudes – and share it with others. He helped to reassure a generation of men dubious of their manhood and their ability to perform heroic actions that masculinity consists not in action, but simply in self-confidence. And self-confidence is a matter of whipping oneself up, in essence by thinking of the beauties of self-confidence. One-two-three-four, you are what you believe you are. . . . Get up and go. . . . Go where?

Like Norman Vincent Peale, Emerson was a kind of mental body-builder, and like most body-builders, his attention was on the developing muscles, not on any task in which he hoped to use them. It is striking that Lowell in his 1868 panegyric on Emerson stresses only how good Emerson made him and his contemporaries feel: he gave them "life" and a sense of "everlasting originality." He says nothing about any influence produced by Emerson on career choices or life patterns. Yet it is equally striking that he credits the "thoughtful heroism" shown by the "young martyrs of our civil war" to Emerson's influence. Unknowingly and obliquely, Lowell suggests what so much of American culture before and since has hinted: that the kind of ego-building calisthenics Emerson performed ultimately produces the demand for a fit arena in which to practice them, whether a game preserve or a battlefield.

In a sense, Emerson had made the choice he apparently avoided but in solving his dilemma unconsciously, he solved it in dangerously more simplistic terms than he had consciously posed (and evaded) it. To paraphrase one of his own better lines of poetry, he left force, not intellectual discrimination, in the saddle riding mankind. Teddy Roosevelt charging up San Juan hill was not the first or the last of Emerson's heirs.

Ann Douglas Wood

Correspondence

Emma

Sirs:

Shortly after Emma Goldman's *Living My Life* first came out, a story went the rounds of a woman on the subway avidly reading her copy. Her seatmate made a nuisance of himself, however, by leaning over to follow the narrative with her. On the approach to his stop the man stirred impatiently and finally jumped up, almost shouting: "If you would only turn the page, you would see where I slept with Emma!" I regret Kenneth S. Lynn's "Reconsiderations" (Nov. 27) hardly rose above conventional snickering and misunderstanding of what this woman was all about.

Consider only two sentences which show Mr. Lynn's promiscuous ways with the evidence and his increasingly unsubtle animus: "As a woman of fifty-three," he writes, "she found it impossible to keep her hands off a 'flaxen-haired, blue-eyed Swedish boy,' despite the fact that Berkman was deeply upset by the relationship." The flaxen-haired

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boy was in fact Arthur Swenson, a man of thirty who pleaded touchingly with Emma to be allowed to come to her in Berlin after they had spent some months together in Stockholm. Alexander Berkman had in fact approved of the relationship in Sweden and only later, as he once reminded Emma, had he turned against it when he concluded that Swenson "no longer cared for you, was exploiting you." When Emma also concluded he no longer cared for her, she sent Swenson away: "You are thirty and I am fifty-two," she wrote. "From the ordinary point of view, it is natural that your love for me should have died. It is a wonder it should ever have been born. How then can it be your fault? Traditions of centuries have created the cruel injustice that grants to the man the right to ask and receive love from one much younger than himself and does not grant the same right to the woman." Now does this sound like a Dirty Old Woman who could not keep her hands off the boy? And can we count on Mr. Lynn to be equally tough with men who love (can't keep their hands off) younger women?

"And finally," writes Lynn, "there was James Colton, who became her second husband." If he carefully read the volumes under review or my biography which he cites, he had to know that Colton generously gave his name to Emma so that a comrade he admired could secure a passport and citizenship. In a sense his was truly "an affair" of the heart, though it is unbelievably obtuse to cast the fine old man as a "lover." As I write, the copy of *Living My Life*, which Emma presented to her "husband," lies open before me. The inscription reads: "To James Colton, brave comrade and staunch friend. Affectionately, Emma Goldman, Paris, October 1931."

Ignazio Silone's good question, which I use as an epigraph in my book, [*Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman*] was also quoted by your reviewer: "And by what destiny or virtue does one, at a certain age, make the important choice, and become 'accomplice' or 'rebel'?" Having tried his hand at explaining the rebel, Mr. Lynn should now turn to the accomplice. Silone's preceding sentence might help Mr. Lynn pose the issue for himself and his peers: "Are they, these contemporaries of mine, all 'unconscious accomplices'?" Pushed far enough, the inquiry might lead him to understand even Emma Goldman and this passage in one of Berkman's letters to her: "You have to show a rich and varied life, and that one sentence says plenty. What more can you want? Life is to live, and you HAVE lived."

Richard Drinnon
Bucknell University

Sirs:

Three dictionaries I consulted associate the concept *indiscriminate* with that of *promiscuity*. I find it hard to understand how Mr. Lynn (letter, Dec. 18) thinks that this concept has anything to do with the sexual relationships of a woman with seven men (plus, I admit, a blonde Swede she couldn't keep her hands off) over a 71-year lifetime, especially considering the nature of the relationships.

Mr. Lynn states that, as far as he's concerned, the word *promiscuity* is descriptive, not judgmental. But associating the concept *indiscriminate* with either Emma Goldman's love life, as Mr. Lynn does, or with Mr. Lynn's word choice, as I do, is judgmental: after all, words mean what they mean, not what Mr. Lynn chooses them to mean. Perhaps he should turn from Alice in Wonderland and reconsider Emma Goldman.

Harry C. Smith
New York City

In reply:

In his book on young radicals, Kenneth Keniston observes that while we seek the psychological origins of our opponents' beliefs, we like to think that the "objective situation" suffices to explain our own. There is, in other words, a good deal of Puritanism in American liberals and radicals – in some of them, at least – which causes them to flame up in protest whenever it is suggested that the political and social idealism of their heroes and heroines has behind it certain experiences in childhood and in psychosexual development, and that those experiences are reflected in certain fixations and distortions of their adult character.

My recent essay on Emma Goldman has clearly outraged the Puritans. But after they have calmed down again, perhaps they will realize that my psychological observations about Goldman are based entirely on evidence she herself presents – for example, the characterization of her Swedish lover as a "boy" is her perception of him, not mine – and that my essay praises her to the skies for her manifold contributions to the society in which we live.

Kenneth S. Lynn

Unskilled Unemployed

Sirs:

Melville J. Ulmer (Dec. 11) argues that we could enjoy full employment in a more attractive environment if we would embrace his proposal to put the unskilled, unemployed to work in the public sector in the pursuit of "purer air and water, better schools and medical care" and so forth. Just how this might be done, he does not say. But he does tell us that at least 80 percent of the unemployed today are unskilled. Holding this assertion against the October 1971 monthly report on the labor force, and stretching the definition of unskilled to include all unemployed operatives (such as tank truck drivers), all unemployed farmers, all unemployed service workers (detectives, for example), all unemployed new entrants into the labor force (including newly minted Ph.Ds), and, more reasonably, all unemployed laborers, the fraction of the total number unemployed that is "unskilled" is still but 60 percent, not 80. Only by further adding the unemployed sales and clerical workers can the 80 percent be reached.
reached.

Were this definition of unskilled applied to the employed labor force, 62 percent of all of those with jobs are unskilled. Thus to accept Ulmer's skill classification scheme is to reject his analysis, for if over three-fifths of the labor force is unskilled, how can one expect enduring economic miracles by obeying his prescription to siphon off a mere 2.5 million of them (3 percent of the labor force) into the public sector? Indeed, his remedy is akin to the suggestion that the way to reduce railroad accidents, most of which involve the caboose, is to cut off the last car on all trains.

If the GNP is too small and/or if low quality labor supplies are overpriced because of unrealistic wage minima imposed by trade union or social pressure, unemployment must result. And the reason for its concentration in low quality labor supplies are overpriced assertion about a mismatch between demand and supply, but rather in the simple fact that if demand is insufficient at prevailing wage rates, the skilled can compete for jobs with each other and with those of lesser skill, while the unskilled can compete only with each other.

Robert L. Raimon
Ithaca, New York

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In reply:

Mr. Raimon's letter raises three questions. First, exactly what proportion of the unemployed consists of the unskilled and the semiskilled versus the skilled? The answer requires more detailed data than Mr. Raimon uses, even including his conjectures concerning detectives and young Ph.Ds. I utilized Bureau of Labor Statistics sources supplemented by further information on job classification provided in *Rich Man, Poor Man,* by the Census Bureau's expert, Herman Miller, to arrive at an estimate of 80 percent. Mr. Raimon apparently thinks, but cannot demonstrate, that it is lower. But all this is to embellish unnecessarily the indisputable fact that technological change in the United States has placed an increasing premium on skill and education, and has reduced industry's requirements for the less skilled. In Miller's words, recent decades have witnessed a "persistent intrusion of brain power" in place of brawn in the aggregate needs of business, and the composition of the available labor force has lagged.

Secondly, Mr. Raimon wonders how effective a public job program for 2½ million persons can be when it accounts for only 3 percent of the labor force. The answer is that it is big enough to cut the total number presently jobless by half, and reduce the unemployment rate to a level lower than any achieved since the Korean War. But actually the magnitude of the public employment program I envisage would remain flexible, depending upon circumstances. Its objective is to provide jobs for those (regardless of their skills) who cannot be absorbed in the private sector without inflation.

Thirdly, Mr. Raimon complains that I have not explained how my stabilization program would work, with its tax arm balancing its spending arm so that full employment can be achieved without inflation. Here I must plead that either my expository skill or Mr. Raimon's attention span is wanting. I can only refer him for further details to a previous article, "Stabilizing the Economy," (NR, Jan. 31, 1970) and my book, *The Welfare State: U.S.A.,* Houghton Mifflin, 1969.

Finally, Mr. Raimon advances his own theory for high unemployment among the unskilled: when demand is insufficient, or union wages are too high, tossing skilled workers out of jobs, they compete for lower paying employment, throwing more of the unskilled out of work. It is easily shown that this theory is not consistent with the facts. Thus, in 1968 and 1969 demand was very high and skilled workers were extremely scarce; the unemployment rates fell, almost incredibly, to one percent or less. Yet even in those ebullient years the unskilled were plagued by excessive unemployment, with a "depressing" rate of 7 percent prevailing for nonfarm laborers. The reason, I have suggested, must lie in the disparity already mentioned between the structure of the demand for labor, with respect to skill, and the structure of supply.

Melville J. Ulmer

Sports Writing

Sirs:

In noting that "A few newspapers are beginning to hold their sports pages to the standards they apply elsewhere. . .," Jonathan Yardley ("Babe Ruth Still In His Heaven," Dec. 18) could have mentioned the case of the Washington *Evening Star.* Before an article of mine, critical of Washington sportswriters, appeared in *The Washingtonian* last spring, the *Star* had the dullest, most unimaginative sports section in town. Shortly after my piece was circulated, they brought in, as sports editor, Dave Burgin, a young man in his early thirties bent on turning around the conformist, hard-hat tradition in sportswriting. In a very short time, Burgin made the following changes in the *Star's* sports page: fired some incompetents; put some of the deadwood on the back burner; brought up front some new fresh talent capable of writing English prose; changed the format for the better; hired a black columnist and the first woman sportswriter in Washington. Burgin's gutsy attitude is now beginning to permeate the entire sports section of the *Star.* Recently, for example, he roasted the athletic director at the University of Maryland for perpetuating the "football factory" image which nearly destroyed the place in the forties and early fifties.

I wish I could say that what is mentioned above represents a trend, but I am afraid that Yardley is dead right about the low quality of sportswriting in this country, a condition perhaps best characterized by the late Sonny Liston's observation: "A sportswriter looks up in the sky and then asks you: 'Is the sun shining?'"

Burling Lowery
Washington, DC

Exaggerated Report

Sirs:

In reference to Arthur Goldberg's article on the India-Pakistan War (NR, Dec. 18) – Mr. Goldberg's remark on page 8 to the "late Frank Graham" is, as the saying goes, highly exaggerated. Dr. and former US Senator Graham is an alive-and-well 85 in Chapel Hill.

Gerry Cohen
Chapel Hill, NC

Canada

Sirs:

TRB's main point (Dec. 18) that "it is appalling how little attention the US pays Canada" is unarguable. But in making his comparisons between the US and Canadian systems and concluding that on many scores the Canadian comes off best, TRB seems not to have paid too close attention himself.

To suggest that "If we had the Ottawa system here Wilbur Mills, Edward Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, Proxmire, Bayh, Fulbright, Mansfield, Mondale and so on to the total 20 or more would be in the Cabinet," is quite mistaken. If our Cabinet were drawn from the majority party, as it would be in a parliamentary system like Canada's, it is more likely that most of its members would be drawn from the House rather than the Senate. In fact, to make the system work at all we would probably have to get rid of the Senate or at least make of it something less than an equal and coordinate chamber. For as a servant cannot serve two masters, so too a Cabinet can hardly be responsible to two chambers of the legislature at once, especially since they might well be controlled by different parties. If we kept our Senate, but clipped its real powers, as Canada has done, it would attract aged and amiable nonentities, not the likes of Humphrey, Fulbright *et al.* While TRB realistically did make room for Wilbur Mills in his Canadian-style cabinet, he neglected to name other likely members: George H. Mahon, Wright Patman, Carl Perkins, Carl Albert, William L. Dawson, William Colmer and Emmanuel Celler. The idea doesn't sound so nice anymore.

To say that "the prime minister would be picked automatically by the members of his party in the legislature" isn't in fact the way Canada does it. A prime minister is the leader of the majority party, true, and his selection as prime

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minister is automatic *if* (and the if isn't at all automatic) his party has a clear legislative majority. But as party leader he is selected by a party convention, not by majority party legislative caucus. Such conventions, incidentally, are getting to be more like American political conventions all the time – bands and hoopla and "A man who. . ." nominating speeches, followed by well-planned, frenzied demonstrations. There is the same incentive to pick a "winner" with the electorate (style, charisma, TV image, all of that), while still trying to maintain party unity and preserve a precarious balance or coalition of internal party forces.

Some consequences TRB did not draw: George Wallace, instead of going for the long shot of an Electoral College stalemate, could get maybe 30 to 50 House seats for his third party. The Black Caucus could (and probably would) elect 10 or 15 House members in its own name. Other parties might well get into the act. Would that be an improvement?

The favorable (for Canada) comparisons TRB draws with respect to health insurance, family allowances (and what would the Zero Population Growth crowd think of that!), public broadcasting and campaign finance are fair enough. I like those things, too. They are not, however, so much a consequence of the political system, *i.e.* of the parliamentary structure as they are of a different ethos, more particularly the British inheritance which is so much stronger in Canada and which explains so much about her.

Other comparisons, less favorable to Canada, could be drawn with equal facility: a "states rights" philosophy which, if transplanted here, would leave Mississippi and Alabama free to run their schools as they chose; inadequate constitutional protection for civil rights which, if we had had it, would have seen thousands summarily jailed following Kennedy's assassination.

Johan G. Westra
Calvin College

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Kauffmann, *from page 22*

working-out of the design, the spelling of the lesson, with very little esthetic increment along the 137-minute way.

A few sequences are striking, such as the opening in a milk-bar with plaster nudes as tables. There's a good gang rumble in a gutted theater, the hollowed-out place reflecting the combatants' spirits. But a great deal of the film is banal or reminiscent. The four ruffians stand before a street-lamp when they batter a tramp, so that the light streams out around them—one of the hoariest of arty poses. A speeded-up porno sequence is like the one in *Greetings*, a slow-motion fight is like several in *The Wild Bunch*.

The camera-use is stale: the hand-held camera in the murder scene, the distorting lens on the author (Patrick Magee) when he realizes that Alex is his wife's murderer. Supposed frankness is flat or strained: Alex peeing, the prison guard examining his anus, two girls sucking penile ice-cream sticks. Kubrick echoes his own past musical tricks: Rossini as humorously inappropriate comment, instead of the Johann Strauss in *2001;* Gene Kelly and "Singin' in the Rain" at the end, instead of the Vera Lynn and "We'll Meet Again" of *Dr. Strangelove.* A few of Alex's fantasies are witty, like the sex fantasy he gets from the *Bible* while in jail, but mostly they are hand-me-down silent-film dreams with fewer clothes and more violence.

Malcolm McDowell is Alex. This is the third time I've seen him, and although he hasn't yet shown great range, he does have energy and threat. Among the rest only Michael Bates, the guard, is outstanding. I've seen Bates do his shiny-cheeked popinjay twice before—comically—on the London stage. Here he does it less comically but efficiently.

Something has gone seriously wrong with the talented Kubrick. I won't hazard guesses as to what it is. But the one thing that, two films ago, I'd never have thought possible to say about a Kubrick film is true of *A Clockwork Orange:* it's boring.

Something has gone right with Roman Polanski, for a change. Not completely, still surprisingly right. The advance publicity on his *Macbeth* led me to expect – I don't know what. The film turns out to be absolutely straight, a serious attempt to make the play a film, its only unorthodoxy that the hero and heroine are much younger than usual. Even the flacked-up nudity in the sleepwalking scene is very restrained.

Polanski and his co-adapter Kenneth Tynan have worked out some good ideas, chiefly toward the theme of power-hunger. Ross is used as the mysterious Third Murderer of Banquo; then after Ross comforts Lady Macduff, it is he who betrays her to Macbeth's killers; then of course he flees to Malcolm, so is on the side that crushes Macbeth, and comes out on top. At the very end there is an added (silent) twist. After Malcolm has been crowned, we see his brother, Donalbain, returning from exile and encountering the witches as Macbeth once did when they prophesied he would be king. And we know that the opportunist Ross is waiting to back another winner, if the witches prophesy the same destiny to Donalbain.

Some of the pictorial elements are breathtaking – shot in Wales (by Gil Taylor) in a climate into which rain comes and goes as breezes do elsewhere. But we expect stunning pictures these days. Where Polanski has really made *film* is, for instance, in the first scene: the three witches on a wide stretch of dismal beach, going about their witchy business in a nontheatrical mundane way, as if they were digging clams instead of burying a severed hand with an incantation. (One of the three is young and never speaks.) I never expect to believe the witches, I hope only to have them credible as symbols (which they aren't often), but I nearly believed in these three, and in the naked coven to whom Macbeth resorts after he is king.

Polanski has worked in a lot of helpful life-style touches of the time, and the editing – of sound and picture – is generally agile. The gory stuff is hardly exceptional in these days of Clint Eastwood. There is only one visual device I really regretted: the visible airborne dagger, which is supposed to be "of the mind." (It looked like a TV airlines commercial: Kill Now, Pay Later.) And several of the actors are very good, notably Martin Shaw as Banquo and Nicholas Selby as Duncan.

But the whole enterprise never really gets to be *Macbeth*, to be a tragedy – for two reasons. First, the leading actors are inadequate. Terence Bayler, the Macduff, sounds like a South Kensington dude. Francesca Annis, the Lady, is a zero. Jon Finch, the Macbeth, begins very well, and is genuinely interesting up through Duncan's murder, but he doesn't deepen. Hell is not entered; lines are painted on his face. (And since Polanski insists on young leads, why

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doesn't he make more use of the traditional sex motivation by which Lady M. rekindles M. after he has faltered in his intent to kill? To play this scene, Polanski even moves them out of privacy, on a balcony, into a room full of other people. For the most private and – potentially – most sex-charged dialogue of the drama!)

Second, the old inescapable complaint about Shakespeare films. The text is slashed, to make time for the pictures. But the tragedy is in the words. Those words *cannot* (repeat: CANNOT) be transmuted into pictures, no matter how gorgeous, nor into action, no matter how exciting. (It's the great-granddaddy of the Burgess problem.)

Still I got some moments of real pleasure from the film. And its general seriousness restored some respect – and expectation – for Polanski.

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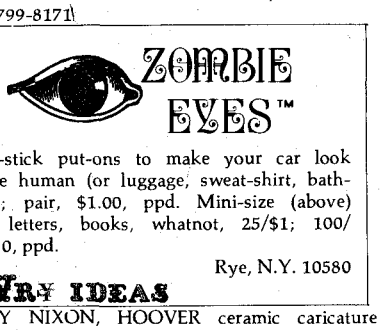
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As a first action to rescue Planet Earth and its inhabitants from destruction, and to provide a tangible rallying ground for people everywhere who want peace and human rights while moving towards the creation of a Provisional World Government, we do hereby issue this First Decree for the Protection of Life:

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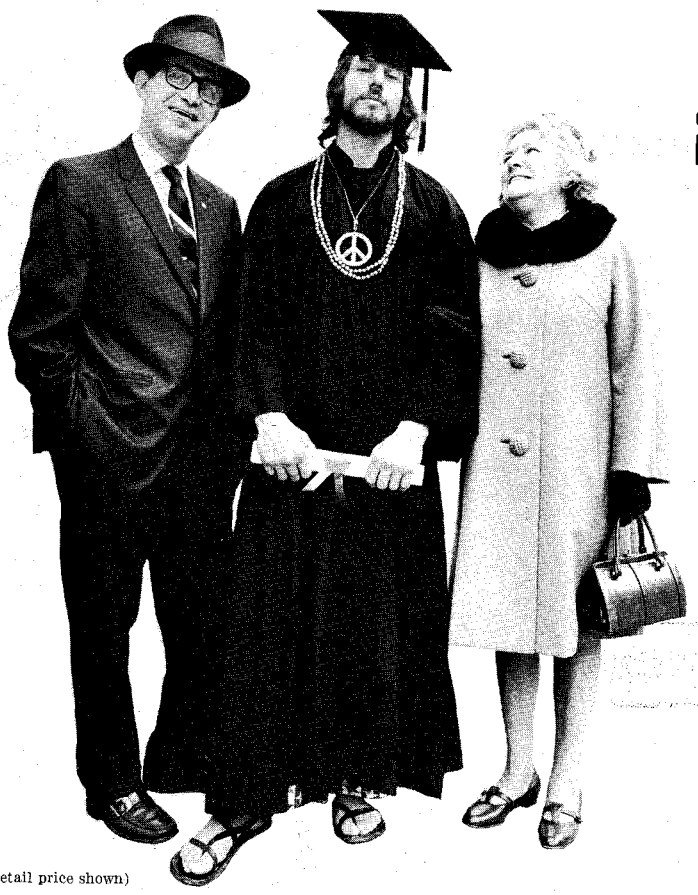

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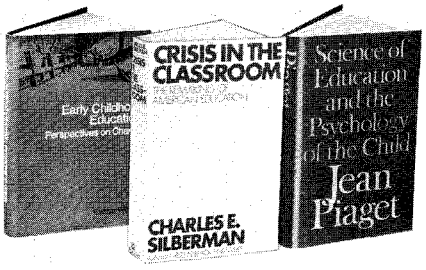

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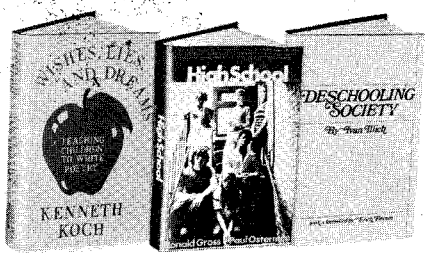

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